Mylai Wasn't the First Time *D. B. Schirmer*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

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A Journal of Politics and the Arts — April 24, 1971, 50 cents

One China

The Editors

Nitty-Gritty Time —*John Osborne*

Applied Nixonomics —*Melville J. Ulmer*

President Dumping —*Paul R. Wieck*

War Crimes —*Peter Barnes*

Taylor-Made Education —*Louis Coxe*

P. G. Wodehouse —*James Finn*

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The election you can't afford to sit out.

Frank Rizzo—and all he stands for—is running for Mayor of Philadelphia. If he wins, we all lose.

You've heard about Frank Rizzo. The tough cop. The highly-publicized Philadelphia Police Commissioner. Now he's running for Mayor of Philadelphia in the May 18 Democratic primary.

So what? There've been police mayors before.

But not one like Frank Rizzo. Not one in a major city like Philadelphia.

Rizzo, the police officer under crisis.

At moments of grave crisis when the city needed calm, reasonable *leadership, here's how Frank Rizzo* responded.

After he personally directed a large *force of police in a raid on the* Black Panther's headquarters and forced the Panthers to strip naked right in the street in front of the news cameras, he said, "If we let idiots like this survive under our form of government, maybe we'll have to change it."

At a subsequent news conference, Rizzo continued, "We're dealing with a group of fanatics, yellow dogs that they are. We'll be glad to meet them on their own terms. Just let them tell us when and where."

Here's Rizzo again last September, during a week in which several police officers were killed: "We need 2,000 more policemen to stop this; the only thing we can do now is buy tanks and start mounting machine guns."

Okay, maybe he's a little tough. But does he get results?

Despite all his publicity, the fact remains that Philadelphia has the highest rate of gang murders in the entire country (101 Killings in the last 3 years). And, during Rizzo's last year as commissioner, Philadelphia had one of the highest rates of increases (23%) in major crimes among the big cities.

What about Frank Rizzo, the candidate for Mayor?

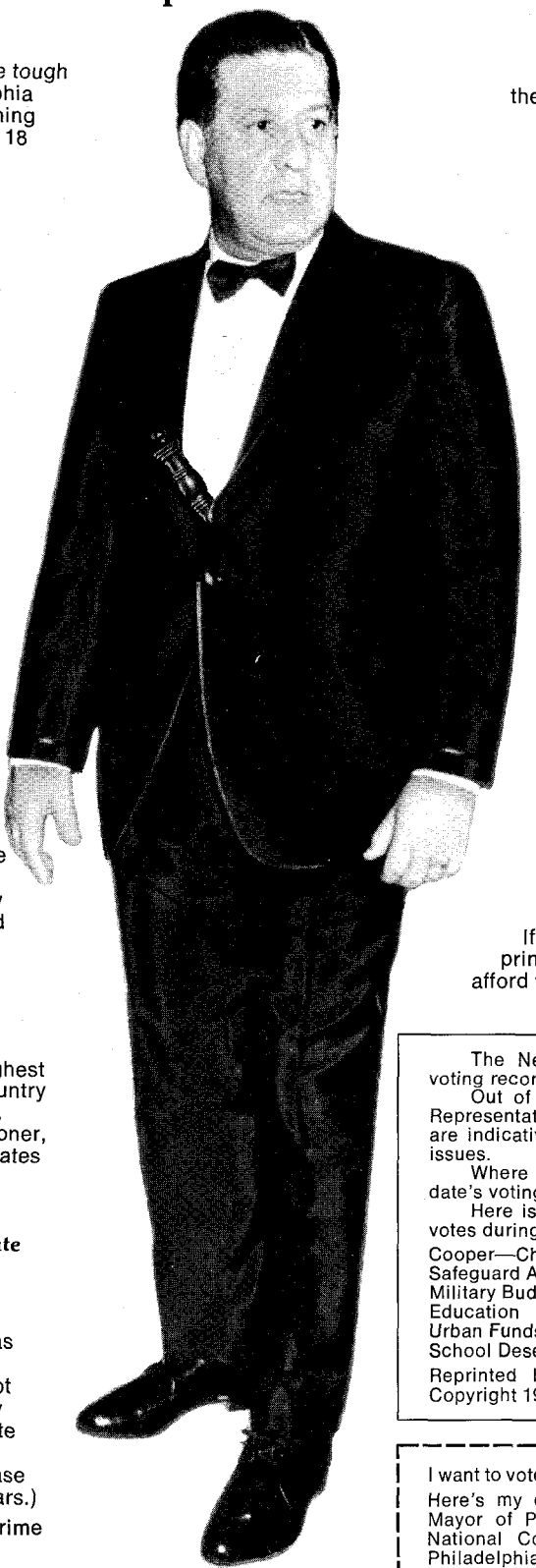
Rizzo's campaign is polarizing Philadelphia. On the rare occasions when he has spoken on issues, he has revealed his lack of understanding. On drug abuse: "The numbers are not *much greater than 10 years ago, they* just get more publicity." (This, despite the fact that the Philadelphia health department revealed a 37-fold increase in drug-related death in the last 5 years.)

On crime: "Philadelphia organized crime is not involved in narcotics."

On school discipline: Rizzo's only answer to dealing with a classroom bully is "to have people [police] around to accommodate him."

Only Green can stop Rizzo.

Bill Green is a Democratic Congressman *from Philadelphia with one of the most* progressive and innovative voting records in the U.S. House of Representatives (see below). He's also seeking the Democratic nomination for Mayor and he's the only man in the race that can stop Frank Rizzo.



Although he's only 32, Green has seven years of experience in Congress, including 3 years on the House Ways and Means Committee.

During his career in Congress, Green has been an outspoken and consistent critic of the War and excessive military spending. He was the first member of the *House to introduce a rat control bill, and* has authored pioneering legislation on national health insurance, Head Start, housing relocation, consumer protection, job training, pollution control, social security reform, freedom from hunger, and many other areas.

Bill Green needs your help.

Frank Rizzo enjoys national prominence. And he's got big money. So Bill Green's *going to need a lot of contributions from* concerned people like yourself to beat him.

We know times are tough. And we know you don't live in Philadelphia. But think about how tough the next four years are going to be for the people who live in Philadelphia if Frank Rizzo becomes the next mayor. Think about the blacks, the students, and those of us who believe in civil liberties.

If you're concerned about the people and the principles that Frank Rizzo threatens, you can't afford to sit this one out. No matter where you live.

The New Republic Magazine rates Bill Green's voting record.

Out of hundreds of votes taken in the House of Representatives, The New Republic picks twelve that are indicative of the congressman's attitude on major issues.

Where The New Republic agrees with the candidate's voting, a "+" is placed beside the issue.

Here is The New Republic's rating of Bill Green's votes during the 1970 Congress.

Cooper—Church	+	Voting Rights	+
Safeguard ABM	+	Poverty Program	+
Military Budget	+	Civil Liberties	+
Education	+	Welfare Reform	+
Urban Funds	+	Environment	Absent
School Desegregation	+	Farm Subsidies	+

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I want to vote against Frank Rizzo in the May 18 primary.

Here's my contribution to Bill Green's campaign for Mayor of Philadelphia. Make checks payable to the National Committee to Elect Bill Green, Mayor of Philadelphia.

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THE WAR COMES HOME

WE ARE RIGHT SMACK IN THE MIDDLE OF A HEROIN EPIDEMIC

This lethal powder—the "white death"—has spread to all levels of American society, with the syringe becoming as much a part of suburbia as the Saturday afternoon barbecue. There are half a million addicts walking the streets right now. They will spend $15 million today feeding their habit. They'll get more than half this money from crimes they'll commit in the big cities. One of every four of these addicts is a teenager, and for the 18-35 age group, heroin overdoses have become a major cause of death.

This is terrifying. But it isn't news. Every time you turn on the TV or pick up the newspaper you hear about heroin. Senators rise regularly to read grim statistics into the Congressional Record. President Nixon himself has spoken somberly about the way heroin is stalking our streets with "pandemic virulence."

But all this talk isn't going to change things. Neither is sending Henry Kissinger to Turkey to see what can be done about the Middle East opium field. And the President probably knows it. The heroin problem is going to get worse, with more young people becoming addicted and dying, until the U.S. gets out of Southeast Asia. Heroin and the War are connected with a horrible symbiosis.

In its May issue, Ramparts magazine tells the shocking story of the New Opium War:

- how clandestine CIA involvement in the parapolitics of Southeast Asia has allowed this area to produce 80% of the world's opium, replacing the Middle East as the major source of heroin.
- how a U.S.-sponsored network of anti-communists—Meo tribesmen in Laos, nationalist Chinese guerrillas and Burmese border police—participate in the opium harvest, in its processing into heroin and transportation to checkpoints throughout Indochina and finally to the U.S.
- how the major figures in South Vietnam's government—from Diem and Madame Nhu in the past to Nguyen Cao Ky today—have profited from the heroin traffic with tacit American support.
- how Saigon has become a major stop along this new heroin route, with up to 20% of some American GI platoons coming home addicts and at least one soldier a day dying from overdoses.

"The New Opium War" is another example of how the war comes home, wrapped in lies and distortions and bringing chaos with it. It is also another page in Ramparts coverage of the ever-deepening U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia. We began in 1966 (before opposition to the war was fashionable) with the expose of the joint efforts of Michigan State University and the CIA to set up the Diem regime. We will continue until the killing is over.

If you want to know more about it, read our May issue, on sale now. Or better yet, take an introductory subscription: 10 issues for $4.75 (regular price $7), which we will begin with our current issue containing the opium story. Let us throw in, free, a copy of "2, 3, Many Vietnams", by the editors of Ramparts (Canfield Press, $3.95). That makes the deal worth about $12, but it's yours for $4.75, saving you over 60%.

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TRB

from Washington ®

Evading the Press

"Mr. President, when half-a-million peace marchers came to Washington a year and a half ago you watched a football game on television; will you see them this time?"

No answer; Mr. Nixon isn't having regular press conferences.

"Mr. President, the Vice President says the press has been doing a hatchet job on the South Vietnamese campaign in Laos; when he makes these attacks (which Hubert Humphrey calls 'media guerrilla warfare') do you countenance them, or would you comment?"

No answer; Mr. Nixon isn't holding regular press conferences.

"Mr. President, Captain Daniel, the prosecutor in the Calley trial, says your intervention after Calley was unanimously found guilty of shooting unarmed, unresisting men, women and babies, has 'damaged the military system'; would you reply?"

No answer; no press conference.

"Mr. President, Senate Republican leader Hugh Scott says you have a definite terminal date for US troop withdrawal from Vietnam; this seems to contradict your TV speech of April 7; would you explain?"

No answer.

"Mr. President, sir, files stolen from the FBI office at Media, Penna., indicate widespread surveillance of schools, colleges and black student groups; is your confidence in Mr. Hoover still unshaken?"

No reply.

Some of these topics are touched on in the panel "conversation" at the American Society of Newspaper Editors convention here April 16th. But a single televised interview with Howard K. Smith over ABC, or a panel discussion with newspaper editors isn't the same thing as a regular press conference. Press conferences keep the public abreast of what's going on. They abort suspicions before they fester. No delegate can answer these questions; it must be the President. Yet Mr. Nixon has held only 17 general press conferences in 28 months. That's a little under one in two months, eight a year; Presidents Johnson, Kennedy, Eisenhower and Truman averaged over two a month.

By what right does the press demand conferences? It has no right. But most modern Presidents have thought it wise. Walter Lippmann called them "not a privilege but an organic necessity." Congress and the Court can't ask the President questions. Nor is he an aloof monarch. True, with television, he can command prime time and leave the Democrats gasping with rage. But that becomes self-defeating and now even the networks begin to question its one-sidedness.

Add these other facts: Mr. Nixon has an excellent memory, he is good at press conferences, he can control them, he can filibuster, the advantage is on his side, he can recognize acquaintances (he identified 12 of the 17 questioners at his latest conference, March 4), he has a dramatic forum in which to get his points across. Furthermore, he would enhance credibility, break down isolation and find out what the public wants to know. Why, then, doesn't he have them?

There isn't a reporter in Washington who hasn't asked that question. I think it is partly personality and partly an institutional suspicion of the press which is unequalled in modern times. Mr. Nixon thinks the press is gunning for him – out to "shaft" him is the word.

Professor James MacGregor Burns calls Mr. Nixon "probably the most introspective President of this century." He is a very private man, constantly appraising himself. He gives the impression of being aloof, brooding, lonely; he lacks ease with his fellow men. He has a penchant for orderliness and takes great care in preparing himself for the occasional public ordeal – which is admirable. He uses this requirement as an excuse for not doing what he dislikes doing, exposing himself to unrehearsed questioners who, he feels, are hostile. That, I think, is the real secret.

The other day a reporter and a man who has Mr. Nixon's best interests at heart and who has been an adviser in other days were chatting. Reporter: "Why doesn't Mr. Nixon see the press oftener?" The other, tentatively: "The people around him think the press is hostile." Reporter (exploding): "They are no more hostile than they are to every President! And suppose some are hostile – they are professionals first, critics later; they must write what he says!" The other, catching fire too: "That's what I tell them! What are they afraid of? I can't understand it."

It has always been like that with Mr. Nixon. On the Nixon candidate's special train in New Jersey in 1960 a poisonous atmosphere of non-communication existed with the accompanying press corps. Then Mr. Nixon remembers the unhappy "last" press conference he gave after he was defeated for governor of California. He recalled it in his hour-long interview with Howard K. Smith:

"You will remember that in 1962 I had my showdown with the press and I have avoided one since. I have respect for the press. It is true that of all the Presidents in this century, it is probably true, that I have less, as somebody has said, supporters in the press than any President. I understand that and I do not complain about it, because it is philosophical."

Nonsense! There was Lyndon Johnson and Harry Truman and poor old Herbert Hoover and Woodrow Wilson. But how revealing.

The idea permeates the White House outlook and appears again and again in Nixon comments: "I would suggest that you ladies and gentlemen always pretty much underestimate what I am capable of doing in terms of withdrawing forces and so forth." "I realize that night after night for the past three weeks on TV there is a drumbeat of suggestion [*i.e.*, defeat in Cambodia], not all, but for some commentators." . . . "This game of trying to divide the President from his Secretary of State . . . has been going on for as long as I can remember. . . ." And so on. What Mr. Nixon hints Mr. Agnew shouts. It's not a healthy situation, not good for the press, the President or the public.

Meanwhile, to his credit, Mr. Nixon is maneuvering us toward better relations with China. The "hostile" press is warmly praising him.

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One China

If the Administration wants to boast that Peking's invitation to the American table-tennis team and three American journalists is a victory for its effort to "bring China out of its self-imposed isolation," perhaps we should not cavil. Nevertheless, the facts contradict State Department prose. It is the "self-isolation" of the United States that long prevented Americans from visiting China. Eight years ago, Dr. Paul Dudley White was privately informed that he could respond favorably to an alleged invitation from a medical colleague in Peking. He did not go, and although Washington over the following years selectively relaxed restrictions against travel to the People's Republic of China for journalists, scholars, scientists and doctors – it was to no avail. When Robert Williams, former NAACP leader from North Carolina, returned from three years' exile in China, he told State Department officials why: Peking felt "insulted" by this procedure; America, as the Chinese saw it, was dictating whom they could invite to their country and so long as this was the case no American – with such rare exceptions as Williams, the Edgar Snows and the nephew of Anna Louise Strong (to attend her funeral) – were admitted. Finally, last month, Washington removed all travel restrictions and within three weeks the Chinese invited their first guests, a ping-pong team. More significant as evidence of good faith, they followed up by granting a visa to Tillman Durdin of *The New York Times,* dean of the surviving tribe of expert reporters on China. "Clever these Chinese"? Not at all; merely possessed with a sense of propriety that mocks our pretensions of "right conduct" in international relations. The sooner we dispose of the remnants of our "self-imposed isolation," the sooner we will discover what China is all about, and how better to relate to it. The opportunity is at hand, to be successfully exploited by those whose knowledge of past failures, as well as present realities, equips them to act wisely.

From its birth as a nation to the Korean war, the United States has viewed China as a market for missionaries and kerosene salesmen. We had company. Through the "unequal treaties," foreign powers exercised extraterritorial rights under which they stationed troops in concessions and operated Chinese customs and harbors. It was Chiang Kai-shek in 1943 ("The Peanut," General Stilwell called him), who said that "the weakening of China's international position

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and the deterioration of the people's morale during the last 100 years have been due chiefly to the unequal treaties." Only during the Second World War, with Franklin Roosevelt's overcompensating impulse to make China a Great Power, were these treaties finally abolished. But past grievances rankled: for instance, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, a nasty bit of racist legislation that has its contemporary echo in our terminology of gooks, dinks, slopes. The US, after atomizing the yellow Japanese, moved on in 1946 to save the Asiatics from themselves; that is to say, from the international Communist menace. That these Asians had, somehow, "hacked it" for thousands of years rarely crossed our minds. Ours was the White Man's Burden to sell and civilize.

What is the current official US view of our relations with China? Once the tennis team had been invited to Peking, some reciprocal gesture by the US was called for. Cautiously but commendably, Mr. Nixon responded. He did not end the trade embargo, but some nonstrategic items will be taken off the proscribed list and direct import of certain items from China will then be permitted. The President did not go so far as to unfreeze a hundred million dollars or more that are China's and that are held by us in blocked accounts, but he will relax currency restrictions sufficiently to enable Chinese visitors to come to the US. And since there is to be a gradual resumption of trade, he will allow American carriers to benefit from it by transporting Chinese goods and calling at Chinese ports.

On the larger question of "who" China is, however, the President's most recent pronouncement is that of March 1, in which he said that while "the US is prepared to see the People's Republic of China play a constructive role in the family of nations," he would oppose any attempt to "deprive the Republic of China [Taiwan] of its place as a member of the UN and its Specialized Agencies." Against that resolution stands the fact that *all* Chinese believe Taiwan is a province of China. "Taiwan is China's internal affair," Chou En-lai told Edgar Snow (*NR*, March 27, 1971), "and the Chinese people have the right to liberate it."

Is there room for maneuver between these seemingly irreconcilable positions? Not much. Allen S. Whiting, director of the State Department office of Research and Analysis for the Far East, 1962-66, points out that "Peking's representatives will not share their place with those they ousted in their civil war. Any 'two-China' formula means in effect 'no-China' so far as the mainland is concerned." That truth is acknowledged in resolutions that have been introduced in the Senate by Mike Gravel (D, Alaska) and George McGovern (D, SD), both of whom favor the seating of Communist China in the UN, as *the* China. Other voices are being raised in opposition to Mr. Nixon's "dual representation" formula. A new "China Lobby," chaired by Professor Whiting, has set up shop. Its Washington office will be managed by Professor Robert Burton, a long-time China hand and director of the Eastern Civilization program at the University of Kansas. Headed by prominent academics associated with Chinese affairs, as well as religious and business leaders, the "Citizens to Change US China Policy" will press the government to go further in the direction it is now moving. It wants Mr. Nixon to take five steps: 1. end the trade embargo and other discriminatory measures which do not treat China equally with other Socialist bloc nations; 2. recognize that the future of Taiwan cannot be properly adjusted by the US or by imposition of force; 3. withdraw all American bases and personnel from Taiwan and terminate assistance, direct or indirect, to the military establishment of the Republic of China; 4. acknowledge that Peking is the sole legitimate representative of China in the UN and all other international organizations; 5. seek to establish economic, social, cultural and diplomatic relations with the mainland on the basis of equality, mutual responsibility and nonintervention. If the "new page" in history which Chou En-lai has mentioned were to be written on the basis of these five points, perhaps we would hear nervous murmurings from Moscow. But the US should no more turn over the determination of its interests to the Kremlin than it should to Thieu-Ky. And, after all, the Russians themselves have kept their door open to China.

No springtime of warm relations between the US and China has burst upon us, only the beginnings of a thaw. But if the ice continues to melt, we will before long see new interests, new power balances, new prospects in Asia, and as perspective is restored Vietnam will recede in importance. We enter only one caution. The US should avoid the temptation of taking on too large a responsibility for the "China Problem." Western aggressiveness has put off the Chinese for decades; let the thorns be plucked by those in the bushes. The Chinese in Peking and Taipei are from the same stock and have many common national aspirations. Let them find a Chinese resolution of the enmities on both sides of the Taiwan Straits, as the McGovern resolution recommends. Chiang Kai-shek noted 28 years ago that, "In view of the fact that imperialism is the cause of war, we Chinese cannot but feel particularly concerned over the freedom and equality of Asiatic peoples. An independent and strong China means a stabilized Asia. . . ." China in charge and at ease in its corner of the world looked good to Chiang, and it looks good to Mao. It ought to look good to us.

COMING: Edgar Snow's third report on China—medical care and birth control

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Closed-Door Policy

"Federal anti-pollution standards will force ten percent of the nation's paper mills to close over the next five years; they just can't afford the necessary expenses. The Government should tolerate detergent phosphates until replacement materials are available to industry or until emerging sewage treatment methods render the problem academic. Auto manufacturers shouldn't be forced to inspect all cars coming off assembly lines to see if their anti-pollution gadgets are working."

Who says all this? The National Industrial Pollution Control Council, and it says so after a series of meetings at the Commerce Department, with Administration officials sitting in and picking up the tab. President Nixon created the council in April, 1970 to "advise the President and the chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality, through the Secretary [of Commerce], on progress of industry relating to the quality of the environment." There were 63 blue-chip industrialists named to the council, headed by Bert S. Cross, chairman of Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing, and the council in good corporate order divided itself into 30 subcommittees to which 136 other industrialists were named. The Administration budgeted the council at $475,000, about one-third it asked for all the business of the Council on Environmental Quality. The industrial advisory group, under the direct aegis of Deputy Assistant Commerce Secretary Walter A. Hamilton, has met four times in full-dress session and 100 times in "sub-councils." In not a single instance has there been in the room a representative of the public, although the issues under discussion concerned the quality of everyone's environment.

Public representatives have tried to get in, without success. At the industrial council's third full-dress session a few months ago, ten environmental and consumer organizations knocked on the door, only to be turned away. "This is not a public hearing," the Commerce spokesman said. The public representatives then asked for a transcript of the meeting, only to be told that Commerce Secretary Maurice Stans vetoed the idea, as he had the power to do under an executive order. That order says that "a verbatim transcript shall be kept of all proceedings at each meeting of an industry advisory committee" except when the head of a department decides "it would interfere with the proper functioning of such a committee or would be impracticable."

But there is no bar to the government's consulting industry on matters which affect its purse. The secrecy surrounding the industrial council's activities, the importance of its agendas and the bias of those in the meeting room, again point to the necessity of legislation mandating true public representation on every body which advises the Government. Bert Cross, for example, runs a corporation whose subsidiary, National Advertising Co., has been the major opponent to the removal of billboards from highways, a beautification program backed by the Administration. The industrial council has among its members the chairman of Union Carbide, a particular target of environmentalists; the chairman of Lever Brothers and the president of Procter & Gamble, the biggest users of phosphates in detergents; a number of top officers of paper and pulp companies and top officers of the auto producers.

A statement by Ralph Nader's Public Interest Research Group, puts the situation well: "These meetings are not merely informal briefings. Rather they are plenary sessions of a Presidentially created and Commerce Department-funded and staffed lobby group. Granting for the sake of argument that these men have something to say to the President and his counselors, why must the public and press be shut out? Closed sessions, we are told, promote 'frank and open discussions.' But what have they to hide?"

Or as Thomas L. Kimball, executive director of the National Wildlife Federation, told a Senate subcommittee in hearings which urged the inclusion of public representatives on government advisory groups: "To the best of our knowledge, there is no comparable council composed of environmentalists, conservationists, educators or others who are usually on the other side of the fence when controversial battles are fought on contamination of the environment."

Iron Curtain

The Nixon doctrine on suburbs – "no forced integration" – has forced its way into a dispute in Washington's backyard. And so wealthy white Potomac, Maryland – a bedroom community five miles north of the nation's capital and home for a large number of upper-echelon federal bureaucrats – has been saved from the scourge of low-income housing, at least temporarily. The doctrine didn't decide the issue, but the manner in which the President's words were brandished by Potomac residents against the poor may foreshadow their wider use in other suburbs.

Maryland's Montgomery County Housing Authority had proposed to lease Watkins Glen, a financially troubled "luxury townhouse" development nearing completion in Potomac, as public housing. It was an unusual opportunity: the private builders of the 52-unit development faced imminent foreclosure proceedings and welcomed the authority's idea; the units were large and had "luxury" features such as dens and playrooms that could be converted into additional bedrooms. Though originally designed to sell in the $45,000 range, the units could be leased at rates consistent with federal guidelines; the local board of edu-

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cation envisioned no problems accommodating the extra children at neighborhood schools. Above all, Watkins Glen could help the authority in its nearly impossible task of finding low-cost housing for a waiting list of 1500 persons.

After informal negotiations with the builders, the housing authority set a public hearing on the project, and got an earful. The life of the authority's executive director was threatened. The angry suburban crowd that turned out for the hearing required a bigger meeting hall than had been planned and two nights of blistering debate rather than one. Most of the arguments fell just short of charging the low-income families would use the bathtubs to store coal: they wouldn't "fit in" the neighborhood or such luxurious quarters; they would waste public money and reduce property values; they would overcrowd the schools and disrupt traffic patterns. Finally, the whole idea was directly contrary to federal policy. "We *know* the position of the President of the United States on forced integration," shouted Dr. Larry McGowan, head of a local residents' group. "Forced integration is unconstitutional"; therefore, the plans had no basis for approval by HUD.

McGowan, representing the Willerburn Acres Citizens Association, whose 145 families live immediately adjacent to Watkins Glen, also hinted that if the authorities went ahead, court action would quickly follow, which is what happened. McGowan and 42 others obtained a one-month injunction in Montgomery County Circuit Court, alleging "an illegal exercise of power" by the authority. The suit was timed to prevent the housing officials from negotiating with Watkins Glen's developers prior to foreclosure proceedings on 10 of the 52 units, which took place April 7. One of the developers managed to purchase back the units and still wants the authority to lease the entire group. But it's doubtful whether the authority, or its waiting low-income families, will ever get the chance.

Hunt-Wesson's Business

Edward Gelsthorpe is a Republican and former naval officer who believes the Nuremberg principle of individual responsibility applies to corporate executives as well as to government leaders. Gelsthorpe is president of a $500 million corporation, Hunt-Wesson Foods, the ketchup-and-salad-oil subsidiary of Norton Simon, Inc. Nothing that Hunt-Wesson makes could remotely be classified as a military weapon, so Gelsthorpe could claim corporate nonresponsibility for Indochina. But to Gelsthorpe's way of thinking, washing one's hands of direct complicity is not permissible for major corporate executives; they should go further and actively support those who resist the war. Most large businesses, engaged in defense work or not, indirectly aid the war effort by refusing to hire draft resisters or veterans with less than honorable discharges. For the military, this corporate collaboration in employment practices serves as a disciplinary tool. GIs are reminded that if they misbehave or don't fit in, they can be given a bad discharge that will cause them hardship for the rest of their lives. Several forms of undesirable discharge can be issued administratively without even the modicum of due process afforded by court-martial. In recent months the military has leaned heavily on the administrative discharge as a way of dealing with dissident soldiers, avoiding the adverse publicity that trials often generate. (On April 12, however, the Army dismissed five charges against Lt. Louis P. Font, a West Point honor graduate who had sought CO status; it gave him an honorable discharge.)

Last December, Gelsthorpe announced that Hunt-Wesson would not discriminate in hiring against veterans who received less than honorable discharges because of their opposition to the Vietnam war, or against draft resisters who had served their prison terms. Some 50 other southern California firms made a similar pledge (the idea had been initiated by the Los Angeles chapter of Business Executives Move for Peace), but Hunt-Wesson was far and away the largest and, by virtue of its location in the heart of Orange County, one of those most directly exposed to jingoist retaliation.

Shortly after the story of Hunt-Wesson's pledge appeared in the Santa Ana *Register*, Gelsthorpe received an angry telegram from Andrew Callanan, a local wheel in the American Legion. Callanan said he was notifying every veteran's organization in California of Hunt-Wesson's policy and urging them to boycott its products. The telegram was followed by a visit from the other veterans' group functionaries, who made a similar threat. In January, came a one-sentence letter from Herbert R. Rainwater, National Commander-in-Chief of the Veterans of Foreign Wars: "It is requested that you transmit a list of all products produced, processed or marketed by your company."

Gelsthorpe responded by taking a more outspoken stand. He asked for and was granted an opportunity to speak at a general meeting of the Combined Veterans Organizations of Orange County, an umbrella association covering everything from the American Legion to the Gold Star Mothers. For nearly three hours Gelsthorpe explained to this hostile gathering why he felt the Indochina adventure was foolhardy, immoral and deserving of every patriot's disfavor. Then he wrote a three-page letter to VFW Commander Rainwater, again citing the immorality of the war and referring to the Nuremberg precedents.

So far there has been no significant boycott of Hunt-Wesson products. Gelsthorpe hopes other large corporations will follow Hunt-Wesson's example.

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Gravy Train

One of the better-kept secrets of the Indochina war is out of the bag: some of the biggest consumer-oriented companies in the nation have received a major share of the $60 billion that has gone to US corporations for goods and services linked to the war effort. A study prepared by a student research group, the Washington-based Council on Economic Priorities, traces $33.5 billion in war contracts to 523 US corporations, including such consumer-oriented giants as General Electric, Motorola, Magnavox and the Bulova Watch Co.

Home appliance manufacturers, including GE, Motorola, Magnavox, and Singer have accounted for more than $1 billion in war contracts, primarily for aircraft electronic systems, such as radar and fire-control devices. Five watch companies – Bulova, General Time, Hamilton Watch, US Time and Waltham – have taken in $398 million. Bulova alone got $89.1 million to make fuse assemblies for rockets and other projectiles. AMF Inc., whose consumer products include Harley-Davidson motorcycles, Voit basketballs and Ben Hogan golfing equipment, got $339 million for bomb bodies, mortars and artillery shells. Kodak, in addition to classified allotments for photographic equipment and film used in reconnaissance planes and spy satellites, got $249.5 million for running an Army ammunition plant in Kingsport, Tenn.

Although the list is dominated, as might be expected, by two aerospace contractors – McDonnell Douglas and Lockheed – 51 consumer-oriented companies were among the 62 firms the Council identifies as recipients of war-related contracts of $100 million or more. All but six of the 51 consumer firms rank ahead of General Dynamics, a leading aerospace company. (GD missed a higher niche because its trouble-plagued F-111 aircraft, originally slated for use in Vietnam, underwent extensive modifications that have kept it out of the war.)

The council's study – eight months in the making – includes statements from the public record which may come back to haunt the corporate executives who uttered them. Among the more devastating is one from a General Motors official in an interview with the *Sunday Times* of London in 1968: "We want to be known as a car and appliance manufacturer, not a merchant of war. But we also want to be ready to profit from the apparently endless series of brushfire wars in which the US seems to involve itself." The report describes GM – the nation's largest automobile manufacturer – as a "microcosm of the military-industrial complex" which has received more than $780 million for a diversity of war goods including the Sheridan tank, M-16 rifle, helicopter and aircraft engines, artillery pieces and other weapons.

The Defense Department has taken steps to ensure that such damaging reports as the council's won't soon appear again. Citing budgetary pressures, the Pentagon has dropped the systematic listings of military contracts that long appeared in *Defense Industry Bulletin*, a monthly publication distributed gratis (at an annual cost of more than $25,000) to the military contracting community. Future researchers will be faced with the task of going through Commerce Department listings of every government contract let every day, to cull out defense contract information.

Good Neighbor

The State Department's Office of Public Safety runs an academy in Washington where policemen from at least 46 countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East are taught modern police methods and anticommunism, in about equal measure. When they are finished with the standard 16-week course, they have read *Maestros del Engaño* by J. Edgar Hoover (most of the students are Latin American), they have learned to make bullets, and have play-acted foiling political assassinations. The State Department thinks that as a result of such training the students go home not only more qualified but more humane. But in educating the world's police (under the Nixon Doctrine the alternative to *being* the world's policeman), the State Department does sometimes get mixed up in the domestic politics of the assisted countries.

According to a *Washington Post* report, the US has trained and equipped Guatemala's police and army under a policy of support for that country's "pacification program." The aid is controversial because of widely held suspicions among Guatemalans that the police themselves are not averse to a spot of political assassination. Since President Carlos Arana Osorio imposed a state of siege last November, the *Post* reported, "Six prominent public figures and dozens of lesser-known ones have died violent deaths." Both supporters and opponents of the government believe that the regime was responsible either directly or indirectly for the killings considered by some "a necessary means of stamping out leftist insurgency."

Though the State Department's stated policy is "to support the constitutional government of President Arana in its efforts to eliminate insurgency and terrorism," it denies that US personnel have been involved in violence. (According to the *Post* story "twenty-five US military men and seven former US policemen, carrying sidearms and accompanied by Guatemalan bodyguards are known to live and work in Guatemala.") Nevertheless the admitted equipping, training and advising of Guatemalan military and police does underscore US complicity in the maintenance of a harsh police state.

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The Nixon Watch

Nitty-Gritty Time

The trumpet calls for Mr. Nixon's new American revolution are muted. In the three months since he outlined a substantial program of domestic legislation and proclaimed his purpose to change the ways and pattern of government with a massive shift of federal power to states and localities, the President has done and said much less to promote his program and to further the change than his assistants led the press and the country to expect in January. It was said then that by now he would have stumped the land, preaching his revolution and plugging his domestic reforms in person, and that teams of cabinet and sub-cabinet officials would have taken the message where he didn't have time to go. Mr. Nixon has made only one such trip, to Des Moines. There was a noticeable lack of regret at the White House when a second foray to upstate New York was snowed out. A plan to make his visit to the California White House in late March and early April the occasion for promotional appearances in the West and along the Pacific Coast was abandoned at the last moment, again without discernible sorrow. The war that won't go away, and his sudden intervention in the Calley case, occupied the President and gave him an excuse to keep mostly to himself in California. But the inquirer at the White House senses something deeper than immediate concerns – a change of mood and a steady attrition of expectations and confidence.

I suspect that a factor in the attrition is a discovery that Mr. Nixon's assistants have made about him. The discovery is that Richard Nixon, disclosing himself and explaining himself in an unprecedented burst of group and individual interviews, and attributing to himself what he has called a Quaker quality of "peace at the center," is no more understandable and believable and attractive than the hitherto guarded and, in matters concerning himself, reticent Nixon was. One must suppose that the discovery has neither surprised nor disappointed Mr. Nixon, who remarked during a recent exercise in personal disclosure that he was born with his image and can't do anything about it. But it has shaken White House assistants who have been telling reporters for two years that they would have an improved opinion of the President if they could see him as he is at work in his Oval Office, likeable and calm and purposeful and utterly convincing. The charitable but not, to his apologists, very reassuring conclusion must be that the private Nixon simply cannot project himself as they see and know him.

A less esoteric and possibly sounder explanation is to be found in the dawning recognition at the White House of the realities that confront the President in Congress. The brief and heady time of new proposals is past. Now Mr. Nixon and his assistants are immersed in the nitty gritty of bargaining and compromise that is necessary in order to get a fair hearing for his proposals in congressional committees and to enhance the generally poor prospects for favorable floor action in the House and Senate.

The Nixon program of national health insurance is a case in point. Its core provision is a federal requirement that all employers, large and small, who can by the farthest stretch of the term be held to affect interstate commerce must provide medical and hospital insurance for their employes. The employers would have to pay 60 percent of the cost at first, 75 percent eventually. Employes would pay the rest. Months of hard and expert study went into the proposal. With federal payment of the costs for the poor, the unemployed and the handicapped, it is a bold and advanced proposal, short in both benefits and costs of the totally federalized health program advocated by Senator Kennedy but far ahead of anything in the field that Mr. Nixon's detractors could have expected from him. At this writing, two months after it was submitted to Congress, the President and his staff lobbyists have been unable to persuade a single Republican representative or senator to sponsor and introduce the legislation. John Byrnes of Wisconsin and his junior colleagues on the House Ways and Means Committee, where the fate of the program will be decided, have refused to touch it in its present form because of an outcry from business constituents to the effect the costs will ruin them, force them to fire marginal employes, and have all the dire consequences that the federal minimum wage was once said to threaten. The White House and HEW officials who devised the program are telling the reluctant Republicans that their objections can be met later, by compromises in committee and on the floor, if only they will introduce the legislation as written and give it a chance in competition with the Kennedy and other rival programs. Even if it is introduced, there is little or no hope at the White House that it will emerge from Ways and Means and be enacted as the President offered it. Wilbur Mills is known to be cooking up his own health insurance bill, focused mainly upon federal payment of hospital costs, and that alone could be enough to doom the Nixon plan.

Mr. Mills is responsible in several other respects for a good deal of the White House malaise. Long content with his strategic place at the head of Ways and Means, Chairman Mills is feeling his oats and saying with demure pleasure that he couldn't refuse a convention draft in the exceedingly remote event that the Democrats call upon him to run for the presidency next year. He and the President's assistants are engaged in a game that would be funny if it didn't involve serious public business. They continue to speak of "the chairman" with abject reverence and he keeps assuring them that they and the President are per-

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fectly welcome to claim his bills, when they come out of his committee, as the Administration's own original bills. That is what is happening to Nixon welfare reform, which is undergoing drastic revision in the direction of more stringent work and eligibility requirements and, thanks to Mills, will retain the Nixon label when it is reported from the committee for a House vote. Cynical students of the Mills technique suspect that he is preparing to take credit for permitting the passage of a Nixon program and let Mr. Nixon have credit for the costs, which are thought likely to exceed both the Administration's and the committee's estimates.

The two forms of Nixon revenue and power sharing, "general" and "special," also suffer from the Mills effect. General sharing, with $5 billion initially and $10 billion eventually diverted each year from the federal treasury to state and local governments, must clear the chairman's committee and his opposition probably means that it never will. Special sharing, lumping previously restricted federal grants for specified purposes into six categories with increased but not total state and local control of the money's use, stands some chance of fragmentary enactment. But there is a note of creeping despair in the White House predictions for it. The most said for it now is that three or perhaps four of the six categories may be approved in some form or other, not necessarily the present Nixon form, over the next two years but maybe not this year. The proposed sharing of funds for elementary and secondary education, the last of the six special programs to be submitted, was understood at the White House to be comatose if not actually dead at birth. Shared funds for state and local law enforcement, manpower training, urban and rural development, with some dispersal of control in each instance, are believed to have the best chances, partly because there is a lot of room for compromise in the original proposals and also because, even in the submitted forms, they wouldn't alter present practices and present federal-state relationships nearly as much as the President claims.

The disparity between claim and actuality in this part of the Nixon program is the major source of its troubles and poor prospects in Congress. Too many legislators in both parties understand too well that there is a basically false quality in Nixon revenue (and power) sharing. General sharing, with its recognition of a proven need to assist state and local governments with federal revenue, is a valid and defensible concept. The trouble with it in its Nixon guise, and the reason it has failed to elicit the support it deserves, is that the President and his advisers concluded last year that their budgetary situation did not allow them to come up with enough shared money to make it adequately helpful. In order to put a bigger and theoretically appealing dollar tag on revenue sharing, they thereupon made some changes in the special-purpose grants that already were going to states and localities and called the result "special revenue sharing." The changes were aimed, as the President said, at diminishing federal control and increasing state and local control of the expenditure. That, too, is a defensible concept, although it is subject to legitimate doubts. The merit in it, arguable at best, was not enough to dispel the stink of contrivance and deception that overhangs special revenue sharing. It's tricky, and being tricky is what Mr. Nixon has never been really good at.

John Osborne

McCarthy and McCloskey — Some Resemblances

President Dumping

One afternoon recently I stopped by to talk with Sen. William Saxbe (R, Ohio). I'd just had lunch with Rep. Paul McCloskey (Cal.) so I mentioned it for openers. The plain-spoken Ohioan answered before I had a chance to ask him what he thought of the leader of the "dump Nixon" movement within his own party. "I've never met him but he could pull a McCarthy, I think. Things aren't going too well. A lot of the faithful are disgruntled." Why? "More than anything, it's ineptitude, in handling people, personalities, the little things that happen in politics." He enumerated several – a North Dakota congressman who had trouble getting a regular White House tour for a high school choir from his district, a shift of a big postal facility slated for Ohio to Pennsylvania without any notification. "They're treating us like poor relations," he said,

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turning aside to say "if they think Nixon can be elected from Oklahoma and Colorado. . . ."

The last time Saxbe talked to the President was in March of 1969. "I told him it was Mr. Johnson's war but it would be Mr. Nixon's war if it lasted through 1969. That's the last time I was invited over."

If I had closed my eyes and dreamed my way back to 1967, I could have recalled similar conversations with Democrats, talking about a different President but the same war, the same mishandling of people with identical results, the same simmering dissatisfaction spreading through another party with, eventually, disastrous results for that President.

The Indochina War has plagued the last two chief executives but collateral issues just as trying, of sufficient impact to cause deep restlessness in saner times, are there – the conflict between the White House and Congress centering around the immense and growing power of the executive but put into sharper public focus because the Senate, in particular, has been the stage for official dissent; the recurrent credibility gaps that beset Presidents in an age of instant, mass communication that leads to overexposure and is intensified by the public trauma over an unpopular war.

Today, the obvious parallel is the "dump Nixon" movement surfacing in GOP ranks. Like Johnson, Nixon has repeatedly poured rhetorical oil on the troubled waters, only to find them just as troubled weeks later because the nation is so weary of it all. If anything, the "dump Nixon" movement is further along in the spring of 1971 than its forerunner, the "dump Johnson" movement, was in 1967. It already has a candidate, whereas the Democratic dissidents had to wait until November of 1967. But we had to wade through a lot of conventional thinking four years ago. Then, the consensus among the best political experts was: it's foolish to challenge an incumbent President in his own party, no matter how great the turmoil. It took New Hampshire to straighten us out on that one. No one is saying it in the spring of 1971.

McCloskey's approach, when contrasted with McCarthy's in November of 1967, is a good measure of the distance the country has traveled in the last four years. McCarthy moved cautiously, first speaking of a "referendum" on the war, urging a coalition government and reform of our political institutions. Not until the returns were in from New Hampshire did he talk of "going all the way to Chicago."

McCloskey is different. He bristles with moral indignation. Coming from a 44-year-old ex-Marine, a man who did his time in service, married a pretty girl and started to raise a family, settled down to practice law in affluent San Mateo County and then won a seat in Congress in a special election, it could catch on fast.

At lunch that day, McCloskey came out swinging before we had settled in. He doesn't play with words. He addressed himself to the folly of trying to save American honor by saturation bombing ("We can't save American honor by indiscriminate killing of Asian civilians"). The country wouldn't have listened to that four years ago. Today, it will. He also wants a guarantee we won't tolerate a South Vietnamese move into North Vietnam.

He speaks with even more passion of what he calls a "secondary issue" – the lack of candor at a White House level. "The whole concept of nameless, faceless people giving statements but refusing to be identified is repugnant to the whole process of accountability. I don't see how you can have a free press without accountability." McCloskey is also troubled by Nixon's record on the race question. He recounted his disappointment with the White House performance on the extension of the Voting Rights Act last year, accused President Nixon of being "unwilling to exert moral leadership to accomplish integration."

McCloskey says he'll run if "three conditions" are present this November: First, if the President continues his present bombing policies or shows signs of planning an "indefinite stay" in Vietnam. Second, if no "responsible" Republican steps forth. Who would he consider a "responsible" Republican? Hatfield, Percy, Mathias, Lindsay, Gardner. Nelson Rockefeller if he "came out with a definite position on the war." Finally, if Congress, itself, hasn't voted to cut off money to end the war. McCloskey says it's his "honest belief one of the three will happen before next November," his deadline. If not, he'll run in every primary he can. He has already contacted at least one colleague from a primary state to get suggestions on a state campaign manager.

The first primary will probably be New Hampshire. Strong Nixon country in 1968. It was supposed to be strong Johnson country, too. All those ethnics wearing blue collars. Catholics, all. Bitterly opposed to communism. Observers could find only a couple small enclaves of intellectuals in the state, at Hanover and Durham.

How does McCloskey's support within the GOP compare with McCarthy's among Democrats four years ago? Probably about the same. Almost nonexistent among party regulars. Remember how long it took to find a Democratic state chairman (Zolton Ferency of Michigan) who would come out against Johnson? And Ferency had to resign. I suspect if you compared today's rhetoric of GOP National Chairman Bob Dole with that of John Bailey in 1967-68 you'd be tempted to think the same speech writer cranked it all out. Remember, it was the Johnsonphiles who thought up terms like "joy in Hanoi" and called McCarthy sympathizers "appeasers."

A lot of people remember 1968 as a "children's crusade." It was the young who flocked to New Hampshire and Wisconsin by the thousands. Millions of parents were charmed when, on TV, they saw one

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volunteer shave his beard off on the church steps in Concord.

But McCloskey was recently kicked off the program of a Young Republicans leadership conference because he'd told a Stanford audience that one of the three things that could be done about the war is to start a discussion of impeachment. That doesn't sound like youth in the GOP wants McCloskey. Never mind. The "dump Johnson" movement was squashed at two conventions of the Young Democrats in the fall of 1967. As an organization, they've been irrelevant since.

Al Lowenstein didn't find his recruits for the "dump Johnson" movement in the Young Democrats. He brought them with him from the National Student Association (NSA). McCloskey has already found them in the Ripon Society, a small cadre of exceptionally bright and capable young men and women.

And indeed, the youth of the Republican party is already coming to McCloskey. He stopped in Madison, Wisc. recently for a speech at the University of Wisconsin. Three college YR leaders from as many midwestern states flew in for a midnight conference to tell him he offered the only hope of getting young people into the party. In Illinois, Sen. Charles Percy is having the same experience on another level. He tells the story of a recent breakfast meeting with GOP leaders, in an outstate county, all of whom had been extremely critical of him during 1969 and 1970 when he was opposing Nixon on Haynsworth, Carswell, ABM, Cambodia and, more recently, SST. One by one, they confessed their son or daughter had agreed with Percy, that these children of the GOP weren't interested in their parents' kind of partisan politics. "Bring them back to the party," was the plea that morning. Perhaps, by 1973, the young men who got McCloskey kicked off a YR panel will be the irrelevant ones.

An equally striking parallel concerns the Senate, which has been the focal point of opposition to President Nixon in the Congress during the last two years. It was there he lost Haynsworth and Carswell, nearly lost ABM, had the most trouble over Cambodia and was blocked on SST. A dozen or so GOP senators, some of them up for reelection in 1972 (Percy, Hatfield, Brooke) made it possible by opposing him on each one.

It was in the Senate that the first vocal opposition to the war was heard in official circles during the Johnson years. As late as the fall of 1967, Johnsonphiles were uttering dire predictions about the fate of these dissenters, many of them up for reelection in 1968. Fulbright would be sorry, they said. So would Church. And McGovern. By the summer of 1970, the same dire predictions were being made about GOP renegades. Charlie Goodell was singled out as an example last fall and, in fact, was defeated. But what about the rest?

A few days before I called on Senator Saxbe, I went in to see Senator Percy. How, I asked, does a liberal survive in the Republican party? "By winning elections," he said. A year ago, there were a lot of outstate county GOP organizations that wouldn't have him around. There was talk of a major challenge to him in the 1972 primary by a leading conservative. Some called him a "Judas." Then came November. On the heels of the coarse, Agnewesque campaign conducted by Sen. Ralph Tyler Smith against Adlai Stevenson III, the GOP suffered major reversals in Illinois. They lost every statewide race. Two-thirds of the courthouse posts up for grabs went to Democrats, some in counties that had never elected a Democrat to the post. One house of the legislature went. It was a sobering experience for the tightly organized, old school politicians who run the GOP in Illinois. Suddenly, they looked up and saw "winner" emblazoned on Percy's forehead.

Since then, Gov. Richard Ogilvie has let it be known he wants Percy on the ticket. He has seen the polls that show Percy to be the most popular politician in the state, albeit it among independents and Democrats. One by one, the leading conservative challengers have checked out. Illinois is important to Nixon and they need Percy, just as Humphrey discovered he needed key Democratic doves in 1968.

Percy had just completed an intensive, three-day bloody fratricidal primary, which cost him reelection; aftermath of Laos, he found the war "a big issue now" and, unlike past ventures into rural Illinois, he encountered "no criticism of my criticism of the war. People are just fed up with it. Look at the attention the PX hearings are getting. There had to be someone at the top trying to stop the probe. Public interest in this is tremendous because of antagonism to the military." He went on to speak of "a credibility gap" and a "challenge to the whole system."

Like so many Democrats in 1968, Percy is a party loyalist. He'll support Nixon. So will Saxbe. But, if you set your mind back to 1967 you can hear the echo of the antiwar Democrats of that year in every word a Percy or a Saxbe uses to defend their allegiance. The Democrats cited Johnson's fine domestic record, told how they'd been with him on every one of those votes. When Percy lists his points of agreement with President Nixon, it's top-heavy with domestic items – revenue sharing, executive reorganization (he's a chief sponsor), environmental control. McCloskey does the same on domestic issues. If that's moving toward the White House in an election year, and it may well be, it's also a routine way to protect your flanks.

Every situation isn't as clear cut as Percy's, just as every Democratic dove in 1968 didn't have the clear field a Fulbright, a Church or a McGovern did. In Oregon, Wayne Morse found himself involved in a bloody fratricidal primary, which cost him reelection.

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Mark Hatfield could face the same thing this year with right-wingers in control of much of the party organization in Oregon. The talk of a Hatfield purge has receded (Gov. Tom McCall has sent word he won't lead it) but, for personal reasons, Hatfield is undecided about seeking reelection. He has four precollege children to consider before he commits himself irrevocably to a senate career.

Up in Massachusetts, Sen. Edward Brooke is having problems of a different nature, but still illustrative of the general pattern of party deterioration of the last decade. Conservative Republicans in that state, cheered by the success of their brothers in New York, are talking up a third party as a kamikaze way of driving liberals out of the GOP. It's working in New York. Why not Massachusetts? To offset this, Brooke invited Agnew into the state (Gov. Sargent barred him in 1970) only to have the Ripon Society counter with McCloskey just down the hall the same night.

The war will not, by itself, cause Nixon's downfall, although it is the one issue that divides deeply enough to spark open revolt against the White House. It did it in Johnson's case but wasn't the sole cause of his political demise, either. A lot of things go into the unmaking of a President but, in the case of these two men, the benchmarks are similar. In both cases the first break came in the farm belt of the midwest. That's not unusual. Farmers in that area never stick with an administration for the duration; thus, in 1958, they made a major contribution to the Democratic landslide; in 1966 they turned on LBJ in the spring and helped wipe out dozens of congressmen in the fall; in 1970, they reacted so vehemently against the Nixon administration's move to kill the parity concept that they won the numbers game for the Democrats. Johnson had inflation and his "guns and butter" policies to defend. Nixon has inflation and soaring unemployment.

But aside from the war, the big issue is the credibility gap. In seeking an explanation, one is always led back to the arrogance that stems from too much power and that breeds isolation. With that comes a creeping contempt for the thoughts of the faceless masses. Johnson was a master manipulator but the country put him down as "phony," to use the term I heard from a waitress in a Des Moines motel as early as 1966 and then heard repeatedly from coast to coast. The men around Nixon use a different style, but the end result is the same. Johnson was angered by the press but didn't try to intimidate it in quite the way the Nixon men do. To the Nixon people, the proper role of the press is that of the pretty girl on a TV commercial who opens the refrigerator door to show the goodies. Without comment. It worked for a while, but the polls indicate it's worn out.

One result of arrogance is an inability to admit defeat. Parallel examples come to mind. The day after the 90th Congress went into session in January of 1967, I went in to see Sen. Clinton P. Anderson (D) of New Mexico, who'd just had a close call in his race for reelection. Could his old friend LBJ pull the Democratic party back together, I asked. "No," he replied, without hesitation. "Let me tell you about it," he continued, relating that President Johnson had called all chairmen of the standing committees of the Senate to the White House a morning or two earlier to let them have their say on the election. He went around the table, asking the opinion of each. Sen. Anderson said the chairmen were outspoken, that they expressed themselves in terms of a sound defeat. There was a flare-up between LBJ and Sen. Pastore. After they'd finished, Sen. Anderson said that Johnson told them they were all wrong. It wasn't a defeat at all. He then cited statistics to show he'd lost fewer senators in 1966 than either Roosevelt in 1938 or Eisenhower in 1958, two other off-year elections that followed massive landslides. Then, without soliciting any more comments, he walked out. The next day, another chairman asked Sen. Anderson why the meeting had come out the way it had. His reply: "Because he made us talk first, then told us we were all wrong and walked out before we could answer."

His story reminds one of the flak out of the White House about a GOP victory last November and the "ideological majority" President Nixon picked up in the Senate. It didn't wash, either in political circles or with the general public, which has its own views after a night in front of the tube. Of course, that ideological majority didn't show up on the SST vote.

The corridors of the Capitol are rife with complaints about a lack of communication between the White House and Congress. So is every other branch of government. To return to Sen. Saxbe, he found Bryce Harlow a "nice guy" but he could never come back with a firm answer. He has "great hopes" for Clark McGregor but is quick to point out he won't be anything more than a "nice guy" unless he wields more power than Harlow.

The same kind of grumbling was heard among Democrats in 1967-68, men who wanted to help LBJ stay in power. Today, Saxbe says "most of us want to help the President." But he's clearly worried. He'll tell you he beat Jack Gilligan in the Ohio Senate race in 1968 "because of the war" and that President Nixon won for the same reason. He'll campaign for him again but says flatly Ohio's GOP "can't carry the state for him at the present time. We have genuine difficulties in Ohio. We have two Republican senators and 17 Republican congressmen and we're not consulted." He was repeating that "two senators and 17 Republican congressmen" for the third time when he stepped out of his office to meet with a colleague.

Paul R. Wieck

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The Inflation/Unemployment Seesaw

Applied Nixonomics

by Melville J. Ulmer

Old ideas seldom fade away, in economics. More commonly they explode, sometimes with a blast strong enough to unseat governments. Herbert Hoover was a devotee of the theory that capitalism is self-equilibrating, that depressions can cure themselves, and quickly. That idea, which survived the test of time for 150 years or more, exploded with a reverberation that shook the country from October 1929 until November 1932. President Nixon pledges allegiance to the "new" or Keynesian economics, which has been gospel for the last 35 years. If a political time bomb is embedded in that theory, too, as I believe, it could go off in November 1972. For the fatal flaw of the new economics, whatever its merits may be, is its inability to provide full employment and stable prices at the same time.

Ever since the end of World War II we have faced the same central problem: the closer our economy draws toward the full employment level, the faster prices tend to rise. Moving in the opposite direction, the more we dampen prices, the more unemployment deepens. Keynesian economics simply determines the direction of the pendulum's swing. Thus when inflation threatens, the Keynesian formula calls for some combination of tight money, higher taxes, and/or reduced government expenditures. This reduces demand, usually retards the price rise, but always increases unemployment. When unemployment threatens, the formula calls for easy money, lower taxes, and/or higher government expenditures. This stimulant raises demand, lowers unemployment, but also lifts prices again.

Like a mindless automaton, one administration after the other has fought inflation (usually when the price rise mounts to an annual rate of three or four percent) by creating unemployment, and then fought unemployment (usually when it swells to six or seven percent of the labor force) by creating inflation. Here are the zigs and zags, Truman through Nixon.

Truman

Expansionary Zig: 1946-1948. Unemployment is reduced from 5 percent to 3.5 percent of the labor force, but inflation explodes, spurred by abandonment of wartime price controls.

Contractionary Zag: 1948-49. Inflation is checked but unemployment swells from 3.5 to 7.9 percent.

Expansionary Zig: 1949-52. Unemployment is cut to less than 3 percent but consumer prices mount at an annual rate of more than 4 percent.

Eisenhower

Contractionary Zag: 1953-54. Inflation is brought nearly to a halt but unemployment moves back to about 6 percent.

Expansionary Zig: 1955-57. Unemployment is pressed down to 4 percent but prices start moving up again.

Contractionary Zag: 1957-59. The attempt to check inflation provokes most severe recession of postwar era and unemployment zooms to nearly 8 percent in spring of 1958.

Kennedy-Johnson

Expansionary Zig: 1961-68. Economy recovers slowly at first but then gathers force with Vietnam war adding impetus. Unemployment drops from nearly 7 percent in 1961 to 4.5 percent in 1965 and then to 3.3 percent at the end of 1968. Inflation also gathers force with the annual price rise reaching more than 4 percent.

Nixon

Contractionary Zag: 1969-70. Unemployment is raised from 3.3 percent at the end of 1968 to 6.2 percent by the end of 1970. Only slight success in retarding price rise, from a bit above a 6 percent annual rate in 1969 to a bit below 6 percent in 1970.

Insofar as it differs from that of his predecessors, Mr. Nixon's plight is suggested in the last sentence. All the less attractive elements of a contractionary zag were present during the past year – a decline in output, a plummeting stock market, high interest rates, joblessness, and diminished sales and profits. But following the longest inflationary expansion in recent history, the upward pressures on prices were extraordinarily stubborn, a fact that poses special problems – economic and political – for the year ahead.

If the Administration yields to popular demand and provides an authoritative fiscal push to the

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economy, the inflationary forces that are still alive could rise to a fury unmatched since the all-out economic effort of World War II. Among other things, the nation's weak balance of international payments could be disastrously upset, with worldwide repercussions. On the other hand, to extend the economic slowdown with widespread unemployment could expose the Administration to charges of a callous disregard for our innumerable social problems, including especially the fate of those on the lower rungs of the economic ladder. More than 70 percent of the unemployed in 1970 were unskilled or semiskilled workers with little or no financial resources to tide them over – one important reason for the spectacular rise in welfare costs and the financial difficulties of the states and cities during the past 12 months. The output lost because of deliberately induced recession – the difference between what the nation *did* produce in 1970 and what it *could* have produced at full employment – amounted to $45 billion, or twice the monetary cost of the Vietnam war that year.

The answer of Mr. Nixon and his economic advisers to this dilemma is an appeal to what may be called the *economic law of opposites*. Since January 1969, there has been a marked disparity, regular and reliable, between what the Administration said it would do and what would happen on the one hand, and what it did do and what actually came to pass on the other. In the present instance the Administration proclaimed its intention, beginning well before the November 1970 election, to pursue a vigorously expansive fiscal policy. In line with this, the Council of Economic Advisers startled most authorities outside the government by predicting a nine percent increase in the gross national product, as great a one-year jump as any in the last two decades.

But following the law of opposites, the actual fiscal policy pursued since last fall has been restrictive rather than expansionary, and business activity, as developed through this early spring, has shown little sign of an exuberant expansion. The federal budget presented to Congress at the start of this year called for a reduction in the nation's deficit, despite confusing references to what the figures would show if calibrated on a "full employment" basis. Federal government expenditures during the three months ending this past February amounted to $49 billion, a five percent decline from the preceding three months. The withholding of appropriated funds for urban development, loudly protested by the nation's mayors, is part of the calculated policy of parsimony – a policy, it must be emphasized, that is just the opposite of the one that has been advertised. Hence, industrial production has remained weak even after the artificial stimulus it received from "make-up" purchasing following the GM strike; the latest figure for February showed a decline. Housing starts flattened out disappointingly this winter, though they were the lone bright spot in the economic picture during the second half of 1970. The rise of personal income in February was the smallest since last October, when the GM strike bit into earnings. After correction for price changes, retail sales this winter were below last year's. Although Federal Reserve Board chairman Arthur Burns has dutifully provided the nation's financial institutions with ample reserves, the effect thus far on output has been negligible; no way has been discovered for driving businessmen into the banks to borrow. At best, the outlook suggests a slow, desultory rise in production in the months ahead with a continuation of unemployment not much below its recent level of six percent. The expected payoff, from the Administration's point of view, would be a further and more pronounced dampening of inflation.

President Nixon was politically scarred once by recession, or thinks he was, in the election of 1960. No doubt he has other plans for November 1972. Indeed, only an administration bent on destruction would fail to open up the fiscal valves in time to provide a substantial lift to the economy well in advance of Election Day. Congress has already taken a first important step toward that objective by passing a ten percent boost in social security benefits, with payments to begin this June, while deferring the compensating increase in social security taxes. With Administration urging, Congress could probably be induced to restore the tax credit on business investment, which would give profits in general and the capital goods industries in particular a lift. But aside from any inadvertent help he may receive from his political adversaries, the President has ample latitude to accelerate the expenditure of already appropriated funds, such as those currently withheld from the cities. That he will do so is as certain as anything else in economics, provided the economy is still lagging later this year. The Council of Economic Advisers has predicted that the unemployment rate will be down to 4.5 percent by mid-1972, just before the impending flow of oratory, and this is one Administration forecast (perhaps its first) that may violate the erstwhile economic law of opposites.

Assuming that a robust business expansion is engendered in time for the spring or summer of 1972, after more than two years of excessive unemployment, what about prices? Will they not be rising once again, very likely accelerating to the end of the year, and confronting the victorious President, whoever he may be, with the recurrent task of applying the brakes, or bluntly, inducing another recession? Aside from its nasty overtones of immorality, isn't the practice of fighting inflation with unemployment merely a tempo-

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rary, self-defeating retreat from the problem itself? All our economic history, of which a portion was sketched above, says that it is. The economy, as we have seen, has moved up and down endlessly, and neither the Republican nor the Democratic Party has confronted the basic task of how to get us off the seesaw. Republicans have been more tolerant of unemployment; Democrats have been more tolerant of inflation. But there, in stabilization policy at least, the difference ends. For those who cannot move or see beyond the traditional Keynesian theory of 40 years ago, the objective of full employment *without* inflation must remain a mirage.

Not so for others, let us hope, who are not so tied to the policies of the past. Here, in brief outline, is what could be done.

Public Service Employment. An economy that operates at breakneck speed for any appreciable length of time generates a head of steam that inevitably presses on the price level. Occasional cooling off periods are essential. The problem is that economic slowdowns, even mild ones, throw people out of work, particularly though not exclusively the unskilled and the disadvantaged. One solution is to provide guaranteed public service jobs for all who are able to work. With the vast multiplicity of public needs in environmental control and conservation, care of the aged, medical assistance, recreational facilities, public housing, sanitation and urban renewal, it would be a triumph of bureaucratic nonachievement if most of the new public employees were not assigned to socially useful work. Furthermore, on-the-job training could help the unskilled move up the employment ladder. Most important, if the cost of these public jobs were met fully by current taxation, full employment could be maintained without inflating the economy. Legislation for public service jobs along these lines has been proposed by Senator Gaylord Nelson (D, Wisc.) and Congressman James O'Hara (D, Mich.) and William Steiger (R, Wisc.).

Wage-Price Controls. Monopolistic corporations and powerful unions have shown they can boost prices and wages even when business is slack, as in 1970. Some other favored groups (physicians, for example) have also been successful, through price hikes, in getting a larger share of the pie. The only check for this brand of inflation, which does not yield to mild business setbacks or recession, is a national standard for regulation of prices, wages, and other incomes, enforced voluntarily where possible, but backed by mandatory controls when voluntary cooperation is absent. An uneasy halfway house to that kind of control is "jawboning," which President Nixon once scorned but is now viewing with considerable tolerance. The Administration several weeks ago established wage guidelines for the building trades. But experience has shown that partial voluntary systems for checking prices and wages collapse under pressure, as "jawboning" did in 1966, and at best they have had only a minor influence. A more comprehensive and systematic scheme with provision for enforcement is required, and is available. Temporary authority for mandatory wage-price controls was enacted by Congress last year and was recently renewed.

Flexible Fiscal Controls. The tools now used to regulate the nation's overall level of business activity, principally tax changes and alterations in government spending, are blunt and cumbersome. Congressional hearings and debate on such proposed changes sometimes occupy a year or two or more. One way to achieve greater speed and flexibility is through a system of refundable taxes, or compulsory loans. Briefly, the compulsory loans and their subsequent repayment would be invoked by presidential order, within limits set by Congress, and would be operated in connection with a special stabilization trust fund, so that money paid into it would be held in escrow or "sterilized." The loans would appear as positive, refundable taxes, and the repayments would appear as negative taxes, in our regular income tax returns. Each loan would be repaid with interest at the end of three years, unless earlier redemption were ordered by the President. Hence loans and repayments could be

"We'll cure that old inflation yet."

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used to build up purchasing power, or reduce it, as required. In contrast with our lumbering, often ineffectual fiscal efforts of the past, this system would work with push-button speed whenever necessary.

Given the Nixon administration's reflexive reaction to institutional innovations and intellectual adventure in general, the immediate prospect for the three-point plan just outlined, or some reasonable variant, is not much brighter than that for nationalization of the AT&T. Although the public service employment proposed in the Nelson-O'Hara-Steiger bill provided for little more than a modest pilot study, it was briskly vetoed by President Nixon. Equal treatment has been promised for the even more modest public service employment act just passed by the Senate under the sponsorship of Senators Nelson and Jacob Javits (R, NY). Despite a growing disposition to intervene in special cases (such as steel and construction), the White House has persisted in opposing systematic national wage-price controls because "they treat symptoms and not causes, can never be administered equitably, and are not compatible with a free economy." When this three-point plan in its entirety was suggested to the Nixon Administration, shortly ofter it came to office, the reaction of Council of Economic Adviser Herbert Stein was: "We want no more WPAs." As this writer mentioned at the time, most of us want no more recessions and inflations.

Mylai Was Not the First Time

by D. B. Schirmer

The present war is no fake, opéra bouffe engagement; our men have been relentless, have killed to exterminate men, women and children, prisoners and captives, active insurgents and suspected people from lads of 10 up, an idea prevailing that the Filipino as such was little better than a dog. . . . Our soldiers have pumped salt water into men to "make them talk," and have taken prisoners people who held up their hands and peacefully surrendered, and an hour later, without an atom of evidence to show that they were even insurrectos, stood them on a bridge and shot them down one by one, to drop into the water below and float down, as examples to those who found their bullet-loaded corpses. . . . The new military plan of settling the trouble by setting them at each other looks promising. – (Manila correspondent, *Philadelphia Ledger*, November 1901.)

In the fall of 1899, the superior armed might of the United States broke up the Philippine army and government, and the Filipinos turned to guerrilla warfare. A year later, on the eve of the American presidential elections, the guerrilla resistance had reached such a pitch that General Young in Northern Luzon recommended the use of "European methods against rebellious Asiatics." But General Arthur MacArthur, in charge of US troops in the islands, refused for fear of arousing public opinion at home; the general was afraid of congressional investigation (so Philippine Commissioner Taft complained to Secretary of War Root). In his report for the year, submitted in October 1900, General MacArthur frankly told Washington that the success of the Philippine guerrillas was due to the "almost complete unity of action of the entire native population." The problem facing the Administration was how to break the link between the guerrillas and the Philippine people.

Domestic opposition to the Republicans' Philippine policy reached its peak in the elections of 1900, when the anti-imperialists supported the Democratic presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan, who campaigned against imperialism and Philippine annexation, only to be defeated. Having settled accounts with the domestic opposition, the McKinley Administration addressed itself to the Filipinos.

The day following the elections the cabinet met and sent orders to General MacArthur to "start a vigorous campaign at once, pressing the remnants of the Filipino army to the last extremity." Shortly after this the Washington correspondent of the *Boston Herald* re-

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ported that Lord Kitchener's plan of operations in Britain's current Boer War, "harsh though it may be," appealed to officials in the War Department, and the *Boston Globe* explained that it was Lord Kitchener's plan of "reconcentration" that the War Department found attractive, since "unless the Filipinos are forced to leave the country districts and settle in the towns where they can be kept under the eyes of the military authorities, there will be no hope of suppressing the guerrilla warfare." Moreover, the *Globe* reported a War Department rumor that "General MacArthur had been told in somewhat plain language that his course had not been entirely satisfactory to the President and that he had apparently not pushed the campaign with the vigor . . . expected of him."

MacArthur quickly fell in line and on December 20 issued a proclamation warning the guerrillas that they would not be accorded the privileges of prisoners of war if captured and ordering those who supplied the guerrillas to cease doing so. Secretary of War Root described MacArthur's proclamation as a "more rigid policy." Extreme measures hitherto unofficial and unacknowledged now became official and acknowledged, from the highest cabinet level through the War Department to MacArthur and the forces in the field.

A feature of the new and harsher policy of the Administration was the wholesale enlistment of Philippine troops. Heretofore the US had recruited small bands of natives on an experimental basis, but in the new army bill debated by Congress in January 1901 Secretary of War Root proposed to enlist 12,000 natives. In the same month Root complained of continuous pressure from servicemen and their families for release from Philippine duty; for the war in the Philippines continued to be unpopular, and although the United States had reduced its commitment by almost half, there were still some 40,000 American troops in the islands. It followed that one of the great advantages of enlisting native troops was the return home of disgruntled US volunteers.

Initial opposition to "a more rigid policy" came over the use of native troops. The anti-imperialist senator, R. F. Pettigrew of South Dakota, charged that it would increase the severity of the war against the guerrillas. Pettigrew maintained that only the more savage peoples like the Macabebes, traditionally hostile to the majority of the Filipinos, would enlist as mercenaries (as they had under Spain during its rule in the islands), and he quoted Secretary of War Root to the effect that the Macabebes were prone to "murder, burn and rob." Gamaliel Bradford, the retired Boston banker who had initiated the anti-imperialist movement, joined Pettigrew's protest. In a letter to the press Bradford charged that the Macabebes had taught American troops "the fiendish expedient of the 'water cure' for the purpose of compelling the surrender of guns concealed by the natives." (The water cure consisted of throwing a victim on the ground, holding his arms and legs, and forcing him to swallow great amounts of water, "till he swells like a toad," then expelling the water and repeating the process – a torture the anti-imperialists thought the Macabebes had learned from the Spanish as it was common practice in the Inquisition.) It was Bradford's contention that there was "overwhelming testimony" that our troops were using this torture against guerrilla suspects and prisoners.

In May 1901 Brigadier General James F. Bell returned to the United States from his command in Southern Luzon. While in Washington, DC, he made what *The New York Times* called a "remarkable statement." Bell said: "One-sixth of the natives of Luzon have either been killed or have died of the dengue fever in the last two years. The loss of life by killing alone has been very great, but I think that not one man has been slain except where his death has served the legitimate purposes of war. It has been necessary to adopt what in other countries would probably be thought harsh measures."

Since the War Department estimated the population of Luzon at 3,727,488, and dengue fever was considered the result of war-induced famine, Bell's statement meant that in the central province of the Philippines some 616,000 people had died from the war. Under the title "Benevolent Assimilation" (McKinley's phrase for his Philippine policy), the New England Anti-Imperialist League reprinted the Bell interview in a folder for popular distribution.

In July General MacArthur was relieved of command and replaced by Major General Adna Chaffee. Chaffee had just come to the Philippines from China, where he had led US forces in the successful suppression of the Boxer Rebellion, an allied campaign that had been condemned by anti-imperialists as one of unexampled brutality and ferocity.

With McKinley's assassination in September and Theodore Roosevelt's accession to the presidency, the news of General Jacob Smith's activities in Samar stimulated Massachusetts anti-imperialists to launch a national campaign against the conduct of the war. This in turn set off a congressional investigation. On November 4 the *Manila News*, an American paper sympathetic to US policy, published a report that: "Brigadier General Smith had been in Samar about 10 days and his strong policy was already making itself felt. He had already ordered all natives to present themselves in certain of the coast towns, saying that those who were found outside would be shot and no questions asked. . . . [when] the time limit had expired . . . General Smith was as good as his word. His policy of reconcentration is said to be the most effective thing of the kind ever seen in the islands under any flag. All suspects, including Spaniards and half-breeds,

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were rounded up in big stockades and kept under guard."

In December the anti-imperialists held a conference and circulated a petition calling for a congressional investigation, citing the reports of General Smith's policies as reason. The petition secured wide support and early in January 1902 Senator George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, who had often spoken for the anti-imperialists, introduced a resolution in the Senate calling for the investigation demanded by the anti-imperialists. Pressed by the fresh burst of public hostility to the war, by editorial support for Hoar's resolution, and by renewed opposition from congressional Democrats, the Republican majority in the Senate agreed to an investigation, placing it however in the hands of a preexistant committee on the Philippines headed by the imperialist-minded Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, where it could be kept under control.

Senator Lodge wrote Secretary of War Root asking for information about the allegations of cruelty. Secretary Root responded by saying that a number of cases of alleged misconduct had been investigated, and in most instances the reports were unfounded or exaggerated. He closed with this ringing endorsement: "The war in the Philippines has been conducted by the American army with scrupulous regard for the rules of civilized warfare, with careful and genuine consideration for prisoner and noncombatant, with self-restraint and with humanity never surpassed, if ever equalled in any conflict, worthy only of praise, and reflecting credit on the American people."

If the Lodge-Root exchange was intended to take the army off the hook and quiet growing unrest, it had the opposite effect. It drew the Administration into the anti-imperialist target, alongside the army.

Some two weeks after Root's letter, the Washington correspondents of the *Boston Evening Transcript* and *New York Evening Post* reported an interview with a Republican congressman who preferred to remain unnamed. He had visited the Philippines the summer before and "his opportunities for observing and knowing the situation were in many ways exceptional." He told the reporters: "You never hear of any disturbances in Northern Luzon . . . because there isn't anybody there to rebel. That country was marched over and cleared out in a most resolute manner. The good lord in Heaven only knows the number of Filipinos that were put under the ground; our soldiers took no prisoners; they kept no records; they simply swept the country and wherever or however they got hold of a Filipino they killed him. The women and children were spared and may now be noticed in disproportionate numbers in that part of the island." It was the congressman's opinion that this was the only way the islands could be pacified, since every Filipino was at heart a rebel against US authority.

Next the press carried the news from Manila of the court martial of Major Littleton W. T. Waller, accused of shooting 11 defenseless Filipinos without trial on the island of Samar. Waller placed all blame on orders given him by General Smith: "The major said that Gen. Smith instructed him to kill and burn, and said that the more he killed and burned the better pleased he would be; that it was no time to take prisoners, and that he was to make Samar a howling wilderness. Maj. Waller asked Gen. Smith to define the age limit for killing, and he replied, 'Everything over ten'."

Three officers of the marine corps testified to the truth of Waller's statements.

It was then revealed that the highest ranking officer of the US Army, General of the Army Nelson A. Miles (the Massachusetts military man who had exposed rotten beef during the Spanish war), had written Secretary Root protesting the "marked severity" of the war against the Filipinos. When Root replied denying the charge (in a letter personally endorsed by Roosevelt), Miles had insisted on his point and cited as evidence the report of an American official in the Philippines, Governor Gardener of Tayaban province.

Democrats on the Senate investigating committee demanded to see the Gardener report. On examining it, they found that this official had leveled serious charges against the army, including "the extensive burning of barrios (native villages) in trying to lay waste the country so that the insurgents cannot occupy it," and "the torturing of natives by so-called water-cure and other methods in order to obtain information." Appended to the Gardener report was a supplement from the secretary of the province of Batangas where General Bell had been campaigning. The secretary reported that one-third of the population had been killed by military slaughter, by famine and pestilence; out of a population of three hundred thousand, some one hundred thousand had died.

Finally, after hearing Taft and MacArthur, the Lodge committee turned its attention to witnesses that Herbert Welsh, a Philadelphia anti-imperialist leader, had supplied to the Democratic minority on the committee. These were two soldiers from western Massachusetts who testified concerning the operations of the "water cure detail" under orders from a Major Edwin F. Glenn; as a result of information thus obtained, a native town of ten thousand people had been burned to the ground, its inhabitants escaping only with the clothes on their backs.

These exposures and the public indignation they aroused brought the greatest embarrassment to the Roosevelt Administration. It was clear, at the very least, that Governor Gardener's report had been in Root's hands when he publicly denied charges of cruelty and praised the army for its exemplary humanity. The anti-imperialist *Springfield Republican* charged that Root, as a New York corporation lawyer, would not hesitate to perpetrate military outrage to carry out imperialist policy. It accused both Root and

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Roosevelt of concealment and bad faith. Nor was the *Republican* alone in making such charges. There was talk in Washington of Root's resignation.

Then, on April 15, after a cabinet meeting, President Roosevelt made an abrupt about face that relieved the pressure on the Administration. He publicly ordered the court martial of General Smith and Major Glenn, and Secretary Root transmitted these orders to General Chaffee and informed the press. The President's move tended to deflect the thrust of the campaign against the conduct of the war and to take from it much of its force. Not long afterwards a committee of Boston clergymen called a rally to protest military atrocities, and speakers hailed the President as the leader of their fight.

Boston anti-imperialist leaders took a more negative view, however. They insisted that Roosevelt and Root had known all along the way the war was going, had kept it quiet as long as they could, and had only spoken out when forced by public opinion. The *Army and Navy Journal* agreed, writing that it was nonsense to suggest that the Administration did not know and approve of the harsh methods of war practiced by US forces in the Philippines. Roosevelt himself shed some light on this question. Just after he ordered General Smith court martialed, the President sent a letter of congratulations to General Bell on the success of his campaign in the Batangas, Bell was the general who had thrown some one hundred thousand Filipinos into concentration camps and whose methods none other than Senator Lodge condemned as "cruel."

In the spring of 1902, Charles Francis Adams, one of the Boston leaders of the campaign to spur the investigation, had said: "Roosevelt proposes to please everyone; he will be very severe in words – on outrages; but no one will be punished." By July the truth of the charge was apparent. Waller was acquitted by his court martial; Glenn fined $50; and Smith was "admonished." Roosevelt made a public review of the Smith case and tapped the general on the wrist, retiring him a year and a half early from the army list. The President had promised a throughgoing investigation but evidently was satisfied with what his closest friend and advisor, Senator Lodge, had done, since he proposed nothing additional.

The Senate committee broke off its investigation in June and it was never resumed. Senator Lodge had on the whole kept the hearings under tight control, assisted by a disciplined Republican majority. Contrary to congressional custom and despite protest, Lodge had refused to admit the public and the press to the hearings, giving out information solely to three or four selected newsmen. He had allowed only two categories of witnesses: high-ranking officials and military men who defended the Administration, and veterans of lower rank who testified to personal knowledge of various cruelties practiced. He had done his best to protect "friendly" witnesses from searching cross-examination by the Democratic minority and kept the witnesses put forward by the opposition down to a minimum (refusing some because they had not been to the Philippines, refusing others, who had been there, for other reasons). The opposition leader on the committee, Senator Carmack of Tennessee, said of Lodge and his docile majority that they were "fugitives from information."

For all his power, however, Senator Lodge was unable to prevent the public disclosure of the nature of the war the army conducted against the Filipinos. As the pattern finally emerged from all these revelations, shocked Americans tried to assimilate the mass of evidence and give it some meaning. Henry Loomis Nelson, Washington correspondent of the *Boston Herald*, concluded that "Our troops in the Philippines . . . look upon all Filipinos as of one race and condition, and being dark men, they are therefore 'niggers,' and entitled to all the contempt and harsh treatment administered by white overlords to the most inferior races."

The most thoroughgoing anti-imperialists had long maintained that the prevalent American attitude of white supremacy was closely related to an imperialist policy of suppression of colonial people abroad. Now the flood of army disclosures, coupled with persistent domestic headlines of blacks lynched and burned at the stake, killed and wounded in racial riots, made a very strong case, and those outside anti-imperialist ranks, like Loomis Nelson, saw the point.

Herbert Welsh, who had played a big part in the campaign against army atrocities, also attempted to wrestle with the problem of responsibility. At the last public protest meeting held by the Boston anti-imperialists he said: "When Major Waller was brought to trial, he pointed to General Jacob Smith. And so, if General Smith were brought to trial in this country . . . he would probably point upward to General Chaffee. . . . And so if General Chaffee would be brought to trial, he would point upward to the War Department in Washington . . . and there is much logic in it. . . . Because those men were under pressure, for political reasons, to finish the war."

The ultimate responsibility, however, lay with the highest authority of all, "the people of the United States." That, in Welsh's opinion, was the "great and deep" lesson to be learned.

Something said by the Republican congressman who had visited the Philippines suggested a reason why this heavy responsibility lay on the American people. When asked by the correspondents whether he thought the moral sense of the country would stand for a policy of extermination, the congressman replied, "If American investors find property that they want in the Philippines, I do not think that they would be embarrassed by any sentiment at home against the sweeping off [of] the Filipinos."

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people. We are all good true "creative" honest imaginative and bright and if we can just get the lead out and put the inspiration in, it's paradise now. If you want to know what's wrong with education, Mr. Taylor, I'll tell you: it is an imperfect endeavor entered into by imperfect human beings in an imperfect world. Some or all of the foregoing are more imperfect at certain times than at others and that makes the time even more imperfect, so we have Commissions and Reports to tell us all to be true lovely and of good report. Need I add that Mr. Taylor is against testing and grading and anything that smacks of judgment. He is for judgment though when it comes to what he calls "the arts": that is, he says "It would be sensible to allow the production of a taped documentary or film or recording to be presented as a form of final examination. . . ." As a form of what? a what of which examination? And he comes to the profound conclusion that if a student is taking dance he or she should be examined good like a dancer should and that it isn't the same for a writer because he doesn't dance. For credit, that is.

For credit. If there ever was a crowd that wanted unlimited credit with no interest, that's us today. Playpen Prep Hip High to New U. Fit the curriculum to My Needs and we, old prof and I, shall learn together in this here teach-in commune. Everyone so equal to everyone else it's more a group-grope than a Socratic sensitivity session. Teachers must become cheer leaders, urging the students to congratulate themselves on what they think they already know, while teach must never own up to knowing anything, which may be the least invalid of these dim views.

Because teacher frequently does not know. Faculty are sometimes only superficially qualified and know it and resent it. Feeling insecure, therefore, and fearing that they may lose their jobs through incapacity, they court student popularity. I have a feeling that even the Sarah Lawrences of this world are not free of such maneuvers. But even more serious still, many Educators like Mr. Taylor seek student popularity almost by default: they are not teachers themselves but they see teachers as the enemy. Mr. Taylor constantly demonstrates to his own satisfaction that teachers are dominated by an "attitude towards education"; they are not "ready" to "reverse" the "idea of the curriculum as a communication system to the idea of the curriculum as something created by students." The average teacher, he says, goes along "without an educational thought in his head." I certainly hope so; if "educational thoughts" are what Mr. Taylor has, let us leave them to him. Education to the Educators. Let the student learn and the teacher teach.

For Mr. Taylor as for most Educators, the operative word is System. Fix or change or reconstruct the System and you've got it made – as with an errant moonshot, you can correct mistakes in flight. The fact is, of course, that American Knowhow and Innocence demand that everyone go to college in aid of the Gross National Product. Few of those who go have the capacity to learn, still fewer have the capacity to teach. Oh lots can be trained and many more can be persuaded of "educational ideas," but if we are to talk about awakening the minds and imaginations of young men and women in colleges and universities to whole worlds of experience otherwise closed to them, then we had better remember that such awakening implies that the student has been – is – unaware and the teacher is aware. The latter knows, the former wants to know – or better, comes to know – what the teacher knows and then can do with it what he pleases. Anyone who has ever learned anything from a good teacher can attest to the time it takes for one to realize what one has learned, just as it takes years to come to the realization that the hot-shot who turned you on in "school" was a cheap pop con man and that other man who made you mad and went against the grain really taught you; you can remember that he knew what he knew and he did not give a damn if you liked it; maybe if you didn't it was your fault. In any case, syllabi, Systems and so on don't enter into the affair at all unless a bunch of Educators get together and decide to think.

Young people in general and students in particular, however disaffected any particular lot may be, are and should be impressionable if imagination exists in them; lies or oversimplifications can be fatally attractive. The young know that; the best of them have a fine nose for cant, at least on the part of their elders. Given half a chance the good ones choose the good in the realm of mind and imagination. Why then does Mr. Taylor like so many others seem to try to relegate them to the playpen? Art and literature are in a real and thoroughly adult sense play, but all joyful things are so. The teacher who expresses delight in what he teaches need not take all those endless seminars Mr. Taylor is so fond of, in which one discusses changes in curricula, methods and systems ad infinitum. We can guess what those changes will be like and what the results.

Art is long. Art is difficult. Civilization is a delicate growth. Perhaps ours is dying but it's a terrible death to be talked to death.

Louis Coxe

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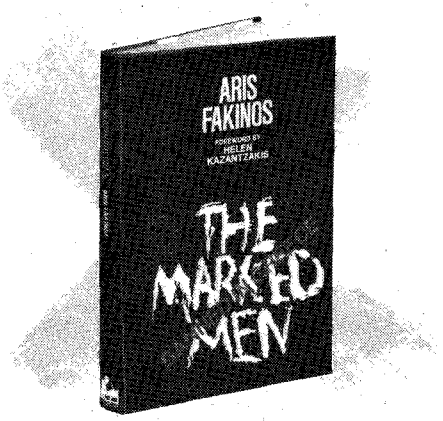

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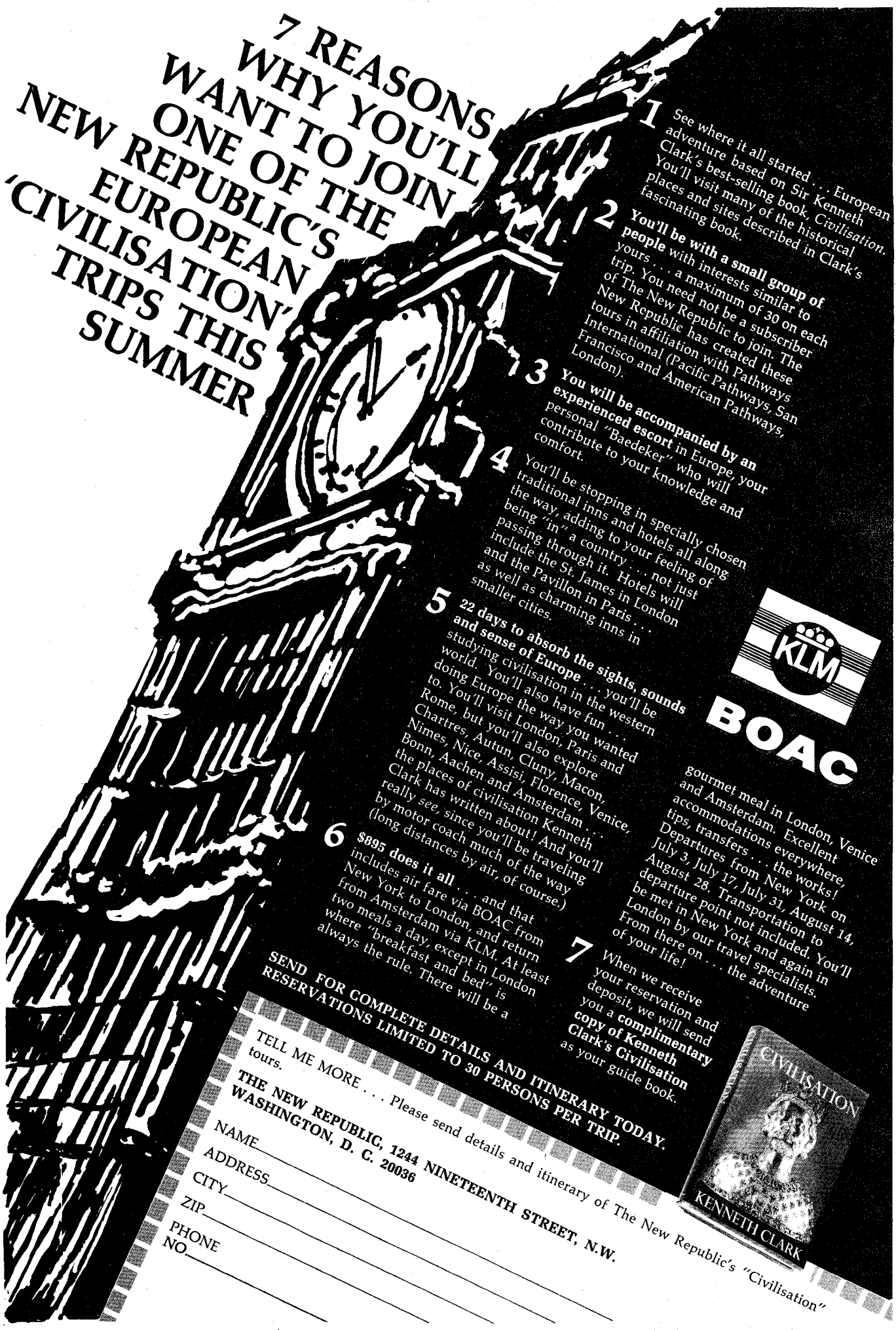

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What's to Be Done?

Crimes of War
Edited by Richard A. Falk, Gabriel Kolko and Robert J. Lifton
(Random House; $10)

War Crimes and the American Conscience
Edited by Erwin Knoll and Judith Nies McFadden
(Holt, Rinehart and Winston; $5.95 cloth; $2.95 paper)

Nuremberg and Vietnam: An American Tragedy by Telford Taylor
(Quadrangle Books; $5.95 cloth, $1.95 paper)

Conversations with Americans by Mark Lane
(Simon and Schuster; $6.95)

If there's one lesson that has seeped into our consciousness over the course of the 1960s, it is that Americans are no more immune to savagery than any other people. We've seen it on TV to the point of numbness, we've read about it in newspapers and periodicals, we've heard about it from young Vietnam veterans. Two years ago, even before we'd learned about Mylai, Clergy and Laymen Concerned published a book called *In The Name of America*, which recounted many of the horrible things Americans were doing in Southeast Asia. Now we are confronted with a flood of books about American war crimes (see *NR*, January 9, 1971 for an extensive listing). If there are any lingering doubts about America's capacity for wholesale violence in pursuit of illegitimate ends, these books should dispel them.

But now that the facts are available to those who care to know, what are we going to do with them? Most of the war crimes books touch upon the question, but stop short of clear-cut answers. Still, a number of approaches have been proposed. Here is a selection culled from the pages of four of the most recent war crimes books:

Robert H. Bower (one of the veterans interviewed in *Conversations with Americans*): "The people who should go on trial [for massacres such as Mylai] are Nixon and Laird and Johnson. It's the people in power in our government that should be tried for these crimes, not the people who carry them out."

Richard A. Falk (in *Crimes of War*): "We need a Presidential commission that has access to all records and witnesses, and is empowered to make a public report and recommendations for action. . . . On a world scale, it would seem desirable for the UN to mount an investigation of allegations of war crimes, especially in relation to Vietnam and Nigeria."

Rep. Henry Reuss (in *War Crimes and the American Conscience*): "I can see some utility in the creation of two different commissions. . . . The first would be a commission of jurists – American jurists because we are Americans – to make recommendations on a number of legal, juridical matters, including the development of legal instrumentalities, courts and tribunals. The second . . . could offer a forum to those returning soldiers and others who have something to say but who now have no recourse to existing bodies, including the regular committees of Congress."

Marcus Raskin (in *War Crimes and the American Conscience*): "I would propose a group of commissions – of Congress and scholars, of people at their work places and at town meetings – to define the personal and corporate responsibility which we demand of our government. Such commissions

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would begin to make clear that Secretaries of State, generals, and other high officials will have their missions critically examined."

Former Under Secretary of the Air Force Townsend Hoopes (in *Crimes of War*): "What the country needs is not retribution, but therapy in the form of deeper understanding of our problems and of each other."

What are we to make of these prescriptions? Most of them are tentative, ethereal, self-contradicting; but they are, it seems to me, a very important beginning. For it is not enough just to talk about war crimes, or to sicken people with their horror, as Mark Lane attempts to do in *Conversations With Americans*. Some national response must come forth. And aside from doing everything possible to stop the war the response must comprehend first the plight of the young who have been corrupted by the war, and second the sins of the policymakers.

By now more than two million Americans have served in Vietnam. Not all have taken part in war crimes, or even witnessed them, but none can escape the knowledge of what his buddies have seen and done. Robert Jay Lifton calls these youths "survivors of atrocity." Like the survivors of Hiroshima, they must struggle to find justification for having lived through their extreme experience, and beyond that, for having fought in a war that makes no sense. Their psychological burden is not the kind that a government program can readily lift; we can't pretend to ease their inquietudes (or our own) with Veterans Administration benefits. A much more humane and painful undertaking is necessary – a conscious effort by the rest of us, in and out of government, to clarify and – yes – to atone for what we have done to these men. And we must assure that a similar burden is not laid upon a future generation. One such step would be to provide for selective conscientious objection.

As for the policymakers, a myriad of problems present themselves. Where, first of all, do we look for those most responsible for criminal behavior? Telford Taylor, who was chief US counsel at Nuremberg, Richard Falk, a professor of international law at Princeton, and most of the contributors to *Crimes of War* (a collection of documents and articles) and *War Crimes and the American Conscience* (the

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edited transcript of a 1970 seminar sponsored by ten Congressmen) agree that the circle of responsibility is far wider than the handful of enlisted men and company-level officers that the Army has charged in the My Lai case. It's hard to dispute this; the burden of Nuremberg was precisely that, when specific criminal acts are the product of a broad national policy, the responsibility for those acts falls most heavily upon the policymakers.

Taylor, however, goes only so far. Cautiously, dispassionately, he builds his case against the military policymakers – General William C. Westmoreland, Lieutenant General Robert E. Cushman, General Creighton Abrams, Lieutenant General William B. Rossen and Admiral Ulysses Grant Sharp, Jr. – but he passes over the civilians in the Pentagon, State Department and White House. His reasoning is that the policies which led to My Lai and other battlefield crimes in Vietnam were essentially military policies – primarily the decision to fight a war of attrition.

Others are not so lenient. "There is no way to support the continuation of large-scale American participation in the Vietnam war without knowingly committing war crimes," writes Falk. If this is the case – and the evidence put forward in these books strongly indicates that it is – then the persons responsible for the war crimes committed in Vietnam are those at the highest levels of government who decided that an anti-Communist regime in Saigon had to be preserved at all costs. These policymakers cannot have been ignorant of the military tactics required to achieve their desired end: the pounding to bits of almost every suspected village, the widespread destruction of crops and farmlands in an ill-fed country, the torturing and killing of prisoners, the shooting of women and children who cannot be distinguished from the "enemy."

Yet even the most earnest pacifist is apt to hold back at this point, instinctively, refusing to think that Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, Robert McNamara, McGeorge Bundy, Dean Rusk, Walt Rostow and the rest are war criminals. Townsend Hoopes, an apostle of mercy, makes this point. "Lyndon Johnson, though disturbingly volatile, was not in his worst moments an evil man in the Hitlerian sense. And his principal advisers were, almost uniformly, those considered when they took office to be the ablest, the best, the most humane and liberal men that could be found for public trust."

But is this not precisely the problem of our era – the perpetration of great amounts of evil by men who are not in themselves evil-minded? We live in an age of overwhelmingly destructive technology, when killing is largely accomplished by pushing buttons and the decisions to kill are taken in secret by faceless bureaucrats and interagency committees.

The next problem is simpler: what specific crimes could the policymakers be held responsible for? Nuremberg established three categories of international crimes: crimes against peace (the planning of aggressive war), crimes against humanity (genocide), and the lowest category, war crimes (battlefield excesses). German leaders were found guilty at Nuremberg primarily of crimes against peace; Japanese leaders were held responsible primarily for war crimes. Jean-Paul Sartre makes the case in *Crimes of War* that America is guilty of nothing less than genocide in Vietnam; others contend that America is the aggressor and its leaders should be found guilty of crimes against peace. Telford Taylor takes a more restrained approach. It is arguable, he says, whether America is in fact guilty of aggression in Indochina; a case could be made that, as Dean Rusk said, the United States was actually attempting to halt aggression when it sent massive numbers of combat troops into South Vietnam. The question of genocide is similarly open to considerable debate. But there can be no doubt at this late date that there

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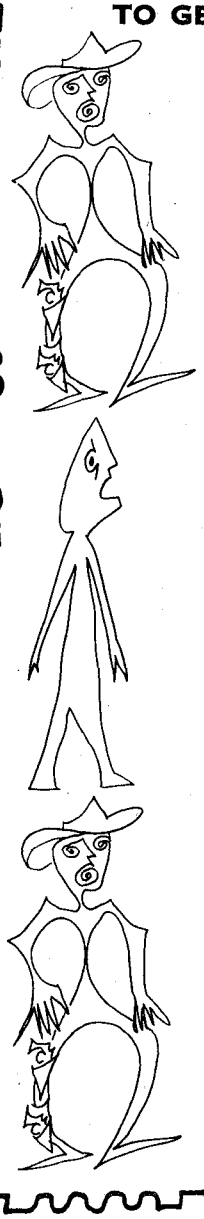

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have been innumerable battlefield excesses. It is for these war crimes that American policymakers should be held responsible.

If legal and historical precedents are wanted, they can be found in the trials of Japanese leaders after World War II (more here than in the Nuremberg trials, since Nuremberg dealt primarily with the planning of aggressive war). The most notable case involving the responsibility of military leaders was that of General Tomayuki Yamashita, commander of Japanese forces in the Philippines at the time of MacArthur's triumphal return. As Japan's hold on the island chain slipped, the conduct of the Japanese occupation forces degenerated rapidly; there were numerous massacres of prisoners and civilians, as well as considerable looting and burning. Yamashita neither ordered nor approved of this conduct, nor was it even established that he was aware of it, or that had he been aware of it, he would have been capable of stopping it. Nevertheless, an American court-martial sentenced him to death by hanging, and the US Supreme Court upheld the sentence, on the grounds that he had "failed to provide effective control of his troops as required by the circumstances." American military leaders in Vietnam, by contrast, are fully aware that prisoners and civilians are frequently slaughtered; indeed, it is official policy to maximize the body count, and to kill civilians or anything else that moves in free-fire zones and in villages that have been told to evacuate. American generals, moreover, have not lost control of their troops as Yamashita did; they could put an end to criminal conduct if they wanted to. The implications are obvious.

Civilian leaders came off no better in the Japanese war crime trials. The Tokyo tribunal ruled that Cabinet members who had knowledge of war crimes committed by Japanese forces, and who failed either to take action to stop such crimes or to resign from the Cabinet, were criminally liable. This is a precedent that stretches a bit too far for contemporary tastes; one can hardly contend that a Secretary of HEW becomes a war criminal if he does not resign his post. But the Tokyo decision makes it harder to argue that the Secretaries of State and Defense, or the members of the National Security Council, should go scot free.

None of this, however, resolves the basic question: is it practical, or desirable, to try as criminals the top-level American policymakers? Legal precedents are unquestionably there, but should they be used?

As a practical matter, the obstacles seem insurmountable. What judicial body could properly hear criminal charges? Who among us is guiltless enough, or disinterested enough, to sit in judgment? The military is not. Congress? Most of its members supported the Tonkin Gulf resolution, as well as year after year of military appropriations. The Supreme Court has ducked every major constitutional issue affecting the war, and would hardly be inclined to tackle this one. That leaves the possibility of an international tribunal under UN auspices, but as Henry Reuss infers, the value of such a tribunal would be open to great question. Not only would international condemnation have the effect of undermining support within the United States for the UN; it would fail to serve the essential goal of therapy, which re-

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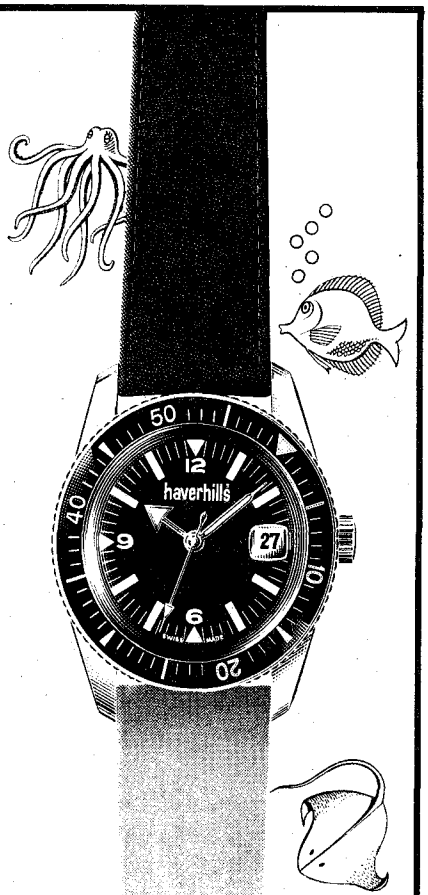

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quires that America itself arrive at a judgment of its leaders' personal responsibility.

To these manifold practical difficulties I would add a socio-psychological one: I don't see any purpose to be served by a criminal process which winds up convicting and sentencing high-level American officials. It is one thing for a victorious nation to punish the leaders of a defeated foe; it is quite another for an unconquered country to punish its own leaders *ex post facto*. The former is a kind of shock therapy which, whatever its beneficial effects, at least does not have the harmful effect of greatly increasing the existing resentment between victors and vanquished. The latter is a form of extreme self-flagellation which would exacerbate to an unnecessary degree the divisions within an already divided nation.

The best course, it seems to me, would be for Congress to create a war crimes commission similar to the one proposed in a bill by Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.). Such a commission should have the power to subpoena witnesses and records; it could investigate anyone and anywhere, but it could not punish. It would in effect do what Falk recommends, "reinforce a boundary." That is exactly what has been lacking in the United States, and what is so desperately needed: a boundary upon the behavior of leaders – beyond which they cannot trespass without suffering the recrimination of their fellow citizens.

Peter Barnes

The Flea Forever

The Girl in Blue
by P. G. Wodehouse

(Simon & Schuster; $5.95)

Ah Wodehouse, that thou shouldst be living at this hour
The world has need of thee . . .

Well, but *do* we, at a time like this, need a writer like Wodehouse? I am prepared to make the case, knowing that along the way I may lose a number of serious and high-toned readers.

Many weeks before this book was published I asked if I might review it. The reason was the simplest. I wanted to read another Wodehouse, certain that it would not disappoint, pleased with the certain knowledge that I would enter a familiar world that has but tenuous ties to our "real" world, a world that I first encountered many years ago. For, P. G. Wodehouse has been around as long as I can remember. Not surprisingly, since of the more than seventy books that he has written, some of the best were written before I was born.

P. G. Wodehouse was born in 1881. To place that date in literary terms, he was born one year before Zola's *Nana*, Longfellow's *Ultima Thule*, the birth of Lytton Strachey, and the death of Flaubert. The year following his birth, Oscar Wilde presented his *Lectures on the Decorative Arts*, Wagner his *Parsifal*, and Ibsen his *Enemy of the People;* in the same year, Virginia Woolf and James Joyce were born and Emerson died. Wodehouse did not immediately attempt to follow, even at a distance, in their footsteps. It was only after a number of false probes and dull jobs that he tried writing. He worked hard at his writing, met with early success and has not stopped working hard since then.

Over the years he and his work have provoked various reactions. Sean O'Casey once called him "English literature's performing flea," but Hilaire Belloc, back in 1934, said he was "the best writer of English now alive – the head of my profession." And, among writers of the modern English novel, he shares with Henry James the honorific of "the Master," although one acknowledges that in Wodehouse's case it was not bestowed without some

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sense of irony. But it is George Orwell's "In Defense of Wodehouse," written immediately after World War II, that brings us back to Wodehouse's particular value for our own time.

Orwell came to Wodehouse's defense at a time when he and a number of other persons were attacked as quislings, as people who had supported the Germans when their own countries were under attack. The basis for the charge against Wodehouse was that he had in the first half of 1941 broadcast over the German radio lectures that treated comically, i.e., lightly, some aspects of Germany's actions. Orwell argues convincingly, I believe, and the record sustains the argument that Wodehouse showed a complete lack of political awareness and that the attacks upon him were unjustified. "In the desperate circumstances of the time, it was excusable to be angry at what Wodehouse did," Orwell says, but to go on after the event is inexcusable.

I recall this event and these judgments because we have once again entered a period when many people wish to subject almost everything to a political judgment, including nonpolitical authors and their nonpolitical works. Not as crudely, of course, as was done in the '30s and early '40s in this country – we have learned something – but the pressures are there and the questions are asked: Is this book on the "right" side of the cultural revolution? Does it swing with the times, cope with the urgent questions that threaten to overwhelm us? Is the author aware that fiction-making is a desperate enterprise today? Does his work point toward the future or is it hopelessly mired in the past?

Judged by these and related questions, Wodehouse would be a dead loss. He remains as apolitical as ever, and his zany characters live in a world that most closely resembles something that existed before the first world war. Having found, or, better, constructed a world he liked, Wodehouse has been content to explore it in novel after novel. I do not wish to ignore the differences that exist among the novels, but I do wish to minimize them. There is a Wodehouse world in which family relations, family retainers and money get entangled but never succeed in keeping young lovers apart. "Bold lover, never, never canst thou kiss," is not for Wodehouse.

He is as far from being *au courant* as it is possible to be. In literary terms the best comparison I can think of is Ivy Compton-Burnett. While she is serious, even tragic, he is light and comic. But both construct worlds which are immediately recognizable as theirs, in which the conventions are severe, the range of possibilities limited, the cast of characters interchangeable, and the general outcome predictible. All the enjoyment is in the process.

The Girl in Blue has all the Wodehouse virtues. The opening sentences do exactly what they are intended to do:

> The afternoon sun poured brightly into the office of the manager of Guildenstern's Stores, Madison Avenue, New York, but there was no corresponding sunshine in the heart of Homer Pyle, the eminent corporation lawyer, as he sat there. He had in the opinion of his companion in the room something of the uneasy air of a cat on hot bricks. It was not difficult to probe the reason for his loss of aplomb. A good corporation lawyer can generally take it as well as dish it out, but it is trying him too high when you telephone him in the middle of the day's work to inform him that his sister has just been arrested for shoplifting. . . .

Here, the sure use of cliché, proffered with an easy confidence we usually encounter only in a writer who knows he can afford to toss off one glittering originality after one other. Here, too, the easy entrance into another display of love frustrated and love fulfilled, of fortunes supposedly gained and fortunes apparently lost, of Gainsborough's *Girl in Blue* presumably stolen but actually tucked safely away, of Americans and Englishmen bumping into each other's eccentricities. And here, too, Wodehouse's easy use of references that require little if any learning on the part of the reader. For example:

> Except for the Gadarene swine, famous through the ages for their prowess at the short sprint, no group is quicker off the mark than a jury at long last released from bondage, and in the stampede for

Notes on Contributors

Louis Coxe *teaches at Bowdoin College.* James Finn *is editor of* worldview, *monthly journal of the Council on Religion and International Affairs.*

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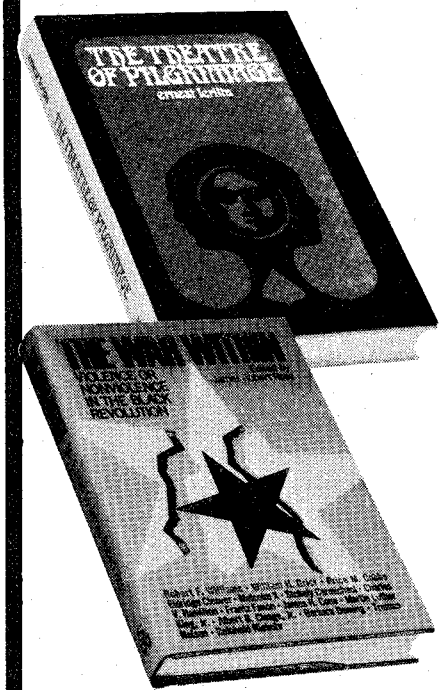

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the door Jerry and the girl were swept apart.

. . . it seemed to Crispin that the library, hitherto static, had suddenly begun to execute the once popular dance known as the Shimmy. If the *Collected Sermons of Bishop Pontifex* (Oxford University Press, 1839) had shot from their shelf and struck him on the occipital bone, he could scarcely have gasped, gurgled and tottered more noticeably. . . . He was suffering, oddly enough, that very sense of guilt and remorse which Bishop Pontifex on page eighty-three of his monumental work warns his readers will always be the wages of sin. Paraphrasing the Bishop, he says that if you sin, you will inevitably feel like something the cat brought in, and that was how Crispin felt.

All comments which serve to put certain things in place. Not the place they ordinarily occupy in our life, but decidedly the place they do in the novels of Wodehouse. Like graduate students in search of an undiscovered great author, there are readers who would inflate the importance and significance of Wodehouse. It is not necessary. In its proportions his life's achievement is secure, and as well as the great novels and writers it challenges the conventions of an iron age that would judge such work by inappropriate standards.

In more than one of his novels, Wodehouse has a sentiment that goes something like this: "He had the look of a man who was chasing rainbows until one of them turned and bit him on the leg." He is not everyone's cup of tea – how respectable he makes the cliché – but he will never turn on the reader. With Wodehouse, in novel after novel, it's rainbow, rainbow.

James Finn

Correction: In the April 17 issue of *NR* the seventh line of Ernest Kroll's poem "Beer Joint Alley" should have read "Shirtsleeves weaves".

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Kauffmann, *from page 22*

set up, the plot lacks dynamics, and Lear jams in minor characters and subplots to fill out the 100 minutes. None of these inventions – a John Birch group, a Pentagon pantaloon, some churchly politicking – is much more than obvious padding. What's worse, the film lacks a base. Lear's idea of black farce is farce in which everyone has some meanness or stupidity in him – and without the genuine cynicism to make this total blackness stick. We get the impression that he's trying to get laughs out of absolutely everyone in the belief that this is a definition of intelligent satire.

Lear also directed, dismally. We know from the first sequence with the minister (Dick Van Dyke) that every scene is going to run just a bit too long and be handled a bit too heavily. In addition, Lear treats us to the hawking of phlegm, the passing of gas, and that old joke about a girl's complexion clearing up because of increased sex activity.

This failed mordant farce, of the kind that Billy Wilder and Preston Sturges used to do successfully, comes soon after *A New Leaf*, Elaine May's failed "screwball" comedy of the Howard Hawks type. Both failures are rooted, I think, in anachronism. Both were made in a culture that's not congenial to them. We like Sturges and Hawks films when we see them, just as we like Verdi; but Verdi operas couldn't be written today. Quite apart from matters of film style and talent, there's a certain lack of cultural *confidence* in both *A New Leaf* and *Cold Turkey* that inhibits them from the start.

Speaking of the past, I'd like to mention a pleasant evening at the movies for a change. I went to see Garbo in *Camille* (1937). First, I owe Garbo an apology, which she has doubtless been awaiting, for underrating her performance. I last saw this film about 20 years ago and had remembered Garbo as beautiful but dependent principally on her beauty – a star's performance. Beautiful she certainly is, but it's a fine piece of acting. Her Camille is realized completely from the moment she enters; the subsequent details and the action don't create that completeness, they are the results of it. From the first moments, her Camille is gentle, humorous, realistic and resigned, with a clear view of her world and her function in it, with a love of luxury yet with no acquisitiveness, a woman both dignified and amused.

It was nice to be reminded again that she had grace. (The Garbo film I had seen most recently was part of *Mata Hari*!) But the most extraordinary surprise was her voice. Garbo imitators, all ten thousand of them, did not exaggerate her tendency to flatness and lugubrious drone. That tendency is almost completely absent here. Something fired her in *Camille*, some congruence that vitalized her beyond her vocal limitations. When she first meets Armand at the theater, he says he didn't even notice that there were other women in her box. She says with quiet pleasure, "That's very nice." Absolutely winning. On her deathbed – she is heartbreaking in the last scene – she hears Armand say he'll take her out of Paris if the doctors agree. She whispers – she has been whispering weakly throughout the scene, but here it's suddenly intense – "What does it *matter*?"

And the quick, puzzled, upward glance as her life leaves her. And . . . well, *all* of her performance.

Apologies, G.G.

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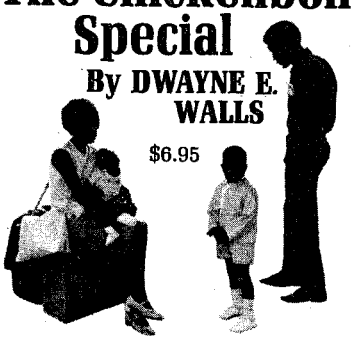

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